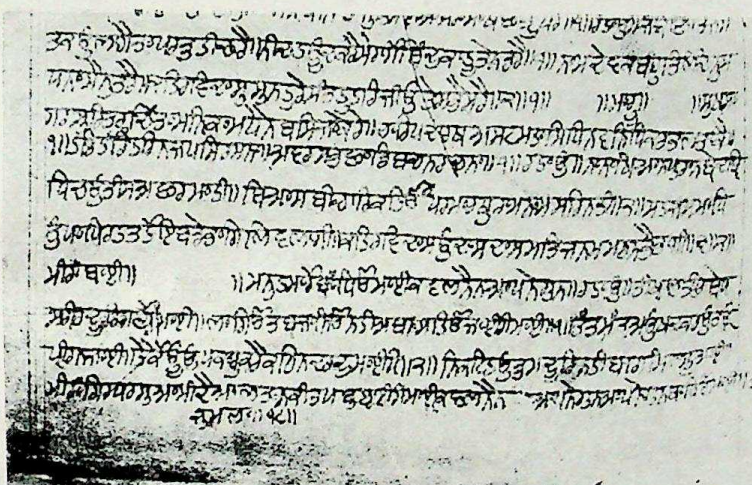


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(Refer to Winand M. Callewaert's Article)

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“ THE ṚGVEDIC HOMONYMS ”

By

MANJUL MAYANK*

In the *R̥gveda*, we come across some words, which, though similar in form literally, differ in meaning from each other. It is interesting to note that literal or external similarity in the form of these words, is marked with the difference of accents which may be supposed to be the main cause of difference in meaning as compared to each other.

For example the word अङ्ग (*aṅga*) a particle denoting ‘ familiarity ’ found in the RV I. 1.6, is accented on the last (*antodāṭṭa*) and differs in meaning from its similar counterpart ‘ अङ्ग ’ (*aṅga*) of the RV II. 33.9 and X. 97.12; meaning ‘ limb ’, which is accented (*ādyudāṭṭa*) on the first syllable.

The indeclinable अपर (*apara*) of the RV I. 181.1 and II. 28.8, meaning ‘ in future ’, though similar in form and spelling with the अपर (*apara*) of the RV X. 18.4; X. 18.5 and X. 139.2, conveys absolutely a different meaning such as ‘ lower ’; ‘ younger ’; ‘ another ’ and so on. The former is accented on the last syllable (*antodāṭṭa*) but the latter is accented on the first (*ādyudāṭṭa*).

The form अभ्रिय (*abhriya*) appearing in the RV I. 116.1, meaning “ rain-cloud ”, though similar in form with the अभ्रिय (*abhriya*) of the RV X. 68.12, conveys the meaning of ‘ roaring like a cloud ’. It can be noted that former

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अ॒भ्रिय (abhriya) is accented in the middle (*madhyodātta*) while the latter is accented on the last, (*antodātta*).

Forms like अ॒व्यय (avyaya) appearing in the RV IX. 69.4 and IX. 85.5 with its middle syllable as accented and meaning 'made of sheep-skin' as opposed to the अ॒व्यय (avyaya) of RV IX. 69.8 accented on the first, meaning 'imperishable': ए॒व (éva) accented on the first syllable, appearing in the RV III. 33.5; IV. 33.1 meaning 'intention' or 'nature' as opposed to *antodātta* ए॒व (éva) of the RV I. 1.3; IV. 50.6; X. 18.5 accented on the last, meaning 'only' or 'in particular'; the form दा॒स (dāsa) accented on the first syllable appearing in the RV II. 12.4 and VII. 83.1 meaning 'belonging to a dāsa' as opposed to दा॒स (dāsa) of the RV IV. 18.9 and VII. 86.7, meaning non-Aryan (*anārya*); द्वा॒दश (dvādaśa) of the RV VII. 103.9 accented on the last, meaning 'twelfth' or 'consisting of twelve' as opposed to *ādyudātta* द्वा॒दश (dvādaśa) of the RV I. 25.8 and IV. 33.7, accented on the first, meaning 'twelve': ब्र॒ह्मन् (brahman) of the RV II. 12.14; VII. 103.8, accented on the first, meaning 'prayer' as opposed to ब्र॒ह्मन् (brahman) of the RV IV. 50.8 and X. 117.7, accented on the last meaning 'a priest'; व॒र (vara) of the RV VII. 54.3 accented on the first (*ādyudātta*) meaning 'an object of desire', 'boon', and 'impediment' in the RV I. 143.5, as opposed to (*antodātta*) व॒र (vara) of RV X. 85.8, meaning 'a groom'; ह॒व्य (havya) of the RV I. 116.6 and II. 23.13, accented on the first, meaning 'fit to be invoked' as opposed to ह॒व्य (havya) of the RV III. 50.1; VII. 86.2 and X. 14.15, accented on the last (*antodātta*) meaning 'an offering', can be taken as the selected cases of the difference in meaning among the Rgvedic words of the similar forms and can be designated as the 'Rgvedic homonyms.'

In view of the difference in accents of each pair, as cited above, it can be argued that the difference in meaning of these similar forms, is due to the difference of accents marked on each of them. But an investigation in the matter reveals that there are also such Rgvedic words, which though similar in form and accents both, differ in meaning from each other.

For example अ॒पस् (apas) accented on the last appearing in the RV I. 160.4; IV. 33.1 meaning 'active' or 'skillful artist' is opposed in meaning to the similar last-accented (*antodātta*) अ॒पस् (apas) of the RV II. 28.5, denoting 'work'. In former occurrence it is used as an adjective while in the latter case, it is used as a noun.

The particle अह (aha), with its first syllable accented, appearing in the RV I. 48.4; V. 83.3; VII. 103.2 though similar in form and accent, is away from the same meaning of अह (aha), of the RV III. 48.2, which means 'the day'.

Another particle आत् (āt) with its first syllable accented, meaning 'afterwards' read in the RV I. 32.4 and IV. 30.7 differs in meaning from similar आत् (āt) accented on the first syllable meaning 'at once', read in the RV I. 116.10; III. 9.9 and VIII. 100.1.

The form इष्टि (iṣṭi) of the RV II. 28.7 with its last syllable accented, meaning 'impulsion' though similar in form and accent on the last syllable with इष्टि (iṣṭi) of the RV I. 143.8, meaning 'desire' or 'intention', is absolutely different.

Likewise, the form दक्ष (dakṣa) with its accent on the first syllable, appearing in the RV VII. 86.6 and VIII. 48.8, meaning 'skill' or 'wisdom' differs from similar दक्ष (dakṣa) of the RV X. 72. 4-5, with its accent on the first syllable meaning 'a name of a diety'.

The form धन्वन् (dhanvan) of the RV I. 35.8, II. 38.7 and V. 83.10 with its first syllable accented, means 'dry land' or 'desert' while similar धन्वन् (dhanvan) of the RV II. 33.10 and IX. 69.1, gives altogether a different meaning of 'a bow'.

Similarity in form with common accent is noticed in पृश्नि (prśni) of the RV I. 160.3, which means 'the earth' or 'the mother of Maruts', as compared to पृश्नि (prśni) of the RV VII. 10.3-4, meaning 'spotted'. In both the cases the form पृश्नि (prśni) has its first syllable accented.

The form यम (yama) of the RV V. 57.4 and X. 117.9 accented on the last syllable, means 'twins' but the similar यम (yama) of the RV I. 116.2; X. 14.1 and X. 135.1 accented on the same syllable is in the meaning of 'a name of a diety'.

The form वन्दन (vandana) of the RV I. 118.6 with its accent on the first syllable, is the name of a person, whom Sāyaṇa designates as a rājarṣi, while वन्दन (vandana) of the RV VII. 50.2, with similar accent, indicates 'poison'.

The form वार (vāra) of the RV I. 32.12 and IX. 69.2-4 accented on the first syllable, means 'tail', 'wool', 'wool-strainer' and so on, while a similar वार (vāra) found in the RV I. 43.13 means 'a gift'; the form होत्रा (hotrā) appearing in the RV I. 142.9 with its first syllable accented means 'a deity' named Bhārati, while a similar होत्रा (hotrā) of the RV X. 15.9 with similar accent, means an 'offering'.

The form अर्ण^१ (*arṇā*) having its first syllable accented (*udātta*) and meaning 'flood' in the RV III. 32.5, as opposed in meaning to a similar अर्ण^१ (*arṇā*) of the RV IV. 30.18 with the same accent, indicating 'a name of a person' in Arṇā—Citrarathā.

The form अरु^१त (*arukṛta*) found in the RV X. 14.13 meaning 'well furnished' or 'equipped with' though similar in form with the अरु^१त (*arukṛta*) of the RV X. 119.13, is opposed in meaning in as much as latter's meaning as 'honoured' or 'respected' suits the context.

From these illustrations, it is clear that homonymity of the Rgvedic words does not wholly depend on the theory of Vedic interpretation in the light of accents and needs further investigation.

A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CRITIQUE OF THE *ARTHAŚĀSTRA* OF KAUTĪLYA

By

SURESH CHANDRA MISHRA*

Situating precisely the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (hereafter KA) on the vast convass of Indian history has been a conundrum for the historians of this century. By and large, the views of different scholars on the age, authenticity and authorship problems of the KA have been influenced by patriotic and national sentiments for quite some time. This paper seeks to pinpoint the various trends in the historiography of the KA problems ever since its discovery for the first time till India won freedom. In the process an examination of the writings of about thirty scholars from different camps—Indian, British and German has been attempted. It would appear from this study that these camps were further subdivided into two groups. While the one group supported and upheld the traditional view on the KA problems, another was diametrically opposed to it. Nevertheless it is remarkable to note that in the initial stages of its discovery, the KA was looked upon as the product of the Mauryan age by all the three groups of historians. But this phase lasted till 1919 when the authenticity of the KA began to be questioned first by an Indian and then by the German School of historians. It is gratifying to note that inspite of their great abhorrence and scant regard for the Indians, none of the English historians questioned its age, authenticity and authorship. Notwithstanding this, the text has been stated variously either to be pre-Pāṇinian or post-Daṇḍin, or falling anywhere between these two extreme limits. Thus it has been variously placed between 700 B.C. to A.D. 700.

I

The Arthaśāstra—Nationalist Nexus

The discovery of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya in 1905 and its publication in the *Indian Antiquary* by R. Shama Sastry in 1909, was hailed in all quarters, as it came as a great boon to the nationalist historians¹ who strongly resented the

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1 Sharma, R. S. and Jha, D. N. The Economic History of India upto A.D. 1200: "Trends and Prospects," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leiden, 1974, XVII, p. 54.

use of many old cherished English Clichés about Indian history. The nationalists henceforward prided on their 'golden past', which experimented in advanced political and economic activities. The English historians, however, were not convinced.² They saw in Indian history an uninterrupted chain of absolutist rule from the ancient down to the Moslem and British periods, in which any monarch was able to rule free from the trammels of law, and in such a way could exercise severe justice.³ To them Kautilya was nothing but an early theoretician of absolutist monarchical power.⁴ They looked upon the *KA* as 'The Bible of imperialism'.⁵ The great interest of Indian historians in ancient Indian politics since the discovery of the *KA* is partly explicable as a reaction against the teachings of the British "imperialist" historiography, which provided a historical justification for the maintenance of the British Raj.⁶

That the 'political expedience' and the temper of the hour led the nationalist historians to look for their respective aspirations in the *KA*, is very well brought out by R. S. Sharma and J. H. Voigt in modern times and by many others anterior to these two.⁷ Thus obsessed with the ideas of G. P. Gooch, Ranke and Treitsche, K. V. Rangaswami rightly foresaw the national sentiments controlling the work of research. "Ours is not the only country in which national aspirations and historical work have been so closely associated or historical themes, studies as the means to specific ends. The history of historical writing during the last hundred years in Europe and in America should make us anticipate that as in the west so in India the further growth of a scientific spirit and the widening of the area of historical studies and interests will bring in their

2 Voigt, Johannes H. "Nationalist Interpretations of *Arthaśāstra*" in Indian Historical writings St. Anthony's papers 18, S. N. Mukherji, (ed) *South Asian Affairs*, ii, Oxford, 1966. p. 46.

3 Smith, V. A. "Indian Constitutional Reform" pp. 19 ff.

4 Voigt, *op. cit.* p. 55.

5 Sarkar, B. K. "Democratic Ideals and Republican Institutions in India," *American Political Science Review*, Baltimore, 1918, p. 585.

6 Voigt *op. cit.* p. 63.

7 Sharma, R. S. *Aspects of Political ideas and Institutions in ancient India*, (second edition) Delhi, 1968. First chapter; Voigt, *op. cit.* Aiyangar, K. V. Rangaswami, *Considerations on Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, Madras, 1935. pp. 6-7. The works like *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, *A History of Hindu Political Theories*, *The Mauryan polity*, and many others contest the persistent notions of the imperialists. The debate on concepts such as 'Oriental despotism,' 'Stagnation of Indian Society' etc. Continues to this date. The myth of such concepts as above is ably falsified by R. S. Sharma, Romila Thapar and Irfan Habib in their researches.

chain, a state of affairs in which the nationalist feeling will quicken and historical method control the work of research".⁸ Conscious of the possible historical pitfalls, he cautioned the audience: "The fortunes of German historical schools should provide both an inspiration and a warning to our own historical students".⁹ We find that a zealous research activity on the *KA* by the Indianists continued unabated upto 1930 on nationalist lines.¹⁰ Though it continued even thereafter, this activity was not so substantial. It seems that the studies relating to the age, authenticity and authorship of the *KA* have been influenced by political and intellectual climate. This will be evident if we examine these aspects authorwise in terms of time, place and situations.

The historiography of the *KA* dates back to the handing over of the two manuscript to the Mysore Government oriental library by a Pandit of the Tanjore district in the Tamil Nadu state and the immediate publication in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1905 of a paper by R. Shama Sastry. In his paper entitled "Cāṇakya's Land and Revenue Policy" he found in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, *Sthavira Pallicarita* of Hema chandra and *Nandisūtra*, fairly reliable data for assuming that Chāṇakya lived as minister of Chandragupta in the fourth century B.C.¹¹ To prove the genuineness of the *KA* as the production of Chāṇakya he referred to the *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin, the *Nīlīsāra* of Kāmandaka and some works such as *Nandisūtra*, *Pañcatantra* and the *Nītivākyāṃṛta* of Somadeva.¹² The text of the *KA* was edited and published for the first time by Shama Sastry in 1909. In 1915, R. Shama Sastry in the preface to the translated text discussed the genuineness and antiquity of the text. He said that Kauṭilya lived and wrote his famous work, the *KA*, between 321 and 300 B.C. In support of his claim, he referred to the state of social milieu as portrayed in the *KA*, some religious observances and style and vocabulary of the *KA*. By the time the third edition of his translation came out, there had been a lot of debate on the authenticity of the text. Therefore, Shama Sastry reasserted his previous stand that the *KA* is a work of the Mauryan period and particularly as Tradition says, of the time of Chandragupta Maurya.

The age and authenticity of the *KA* were hardly questioned even by the imperialist historians in the initial stages of its discovery. Thus in 1903

8 Aiyanger, K. V. Rangaswami. *Considerations on Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 6-7.

9 *ibid.*, foot note 5, p. 7.

10 Sharma, R. S. and Jha, D. N. *op. cit.* p. 54.

11 Shama Sastry, R. "Cāṇakya's Land and Revenue Policy," *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 1905. XXXI, p. 5.

12 *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

V. A. Smith's view about these problems seems to support Shama Sastry's proposition. According to Smith the substance of the precepts and regulations, has an extremely archaic aspect, and the polity described is mainly that of the Mauryan age.¹³ In 1914, Smith revised his opinion and took it to be a pre-Mauryan treatise, an authoritative account of political and social conditions in Gangetic plains in the age of Alexander the Great around 325 B.C.¹⁴ However, he thought that the existing text probably contained minor interpolations of a later date, but the bulk of the book certainly dated from the Mauryan period.¹⁵ In Smith's *Oxford History of India* published in 1919, the pre-Maurya character or atmosphere of the *Arthaśāstra* was maintained.¹⁶

German School

The *KA* was a centre of attraction for many German scholars. Among these scholars the prominent ones were A. Hillebrandt, Julius Jolly, Herman Jacobi and Aufrecht who studied the *KA* from the above angles. On the basis of comparison of the Munich manuscript of the *KA*, with the collection of quotations and fragments Hillebrandt held that it cannot be assumed that Kauṭilya himself is the sole author of the text in question. It only originated in his school which quotes often the opinions of other teachers and contradicts them (after the manner of *Sūtra* works) expresses the view of Kauṭilya himself, at times expressing the latter in the form of direct maxims.¹⁷ Though he did not attempt the dating of the *KA*, his belief in the plurality of the *KA* authorship and its being a product of Kauṭilya's school remained unshaken. Thus in 1923 Hillebrandt who translated the *Arthaśāstra* by "*Lehre vom Nutzen*" (Principles of Profit)¹⁸ reiterated his stand.

In a rejoinder to Hillebrandt's objection¹⁹ to the unitary authorship of the *KA*, Hermann Jacobi maintained that it was the work of Kauṭilya, the "famous minister of Chandragupta". In 1911 Jacobi stated, "Through the discovery and publication of the Kauṭilya, the book of polity by Kauṭilya, the Chronologically certified basis for cultural and literary historical investigation is further

13 Smith, V. A. *The Early History of India*, (second edition) Oxford, 1908. p. 134.

14 *ibid.*, (third edition), New Delhi, 1970. p. 137.

15 *ibid.*, (appendix), p. 153.

16 Smith, V. A. *Oxford History of India* (first edition) Oxford, 1923. pp. 76-93.

17 Hillebrandt, A. *Das Kauṭīliya śāstra Und Verwandtes*, Breslau, 1908. p. 10.

18 Hillebrandt, A. *Altindische Politik*, Jena, 1923. p. 3.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

pushed back to the juncture of the fourth and the third century B.C. The date of the composition of this work becomes wellnigh certain through the personality of its author, Kauṭilya, also known as Viṣṇugupta and Cāṇakya".²⁰ Again in 1922 Jacobi reiterated his position.²¹ He held that the text had not undergone any considerable addition, but thought in terms of possible curtailment.²²

Julius Jolly, a specialist in juridical studies maintained a sustained interest in the study of the *KA*. His writings on the subject may be divided into two phases. Till 1912 he had no doubts about the authenticity and antiquity of the text. In 1914-1915 his collection of parallel passages from the *KA* and *Dharmaśāstra* was being published.²³ In one of these papers he referred to the following passages of chapter-VIII of the *Daśakumāracarita* which purport to say that this science (of politics) was recently (*idānīm*) abridged by ācārya viṣṇugupta into 6000 verses for the use of the Mauryas (*iyam idānīm ācārya viṣṇuguptena Mauryāthe ṣaḍbhlī śloka Sahasraiḥ samkshiptā*). It is on the ground of the word *idānīm* that Jolly considered the *KA* to be not much older than the *Daśakumāracarita* (seventh century A.D.) He was soon challenged in the same Journal by Jacobi in his article "1st das *Daśakumāracarita* gleichzeitig mit dem Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra* "?²⁴ (Is the *Daśakumāracarita* of the same age as the *Arthaśāstra* ?) The question of dating dealing with technological, chemical and medicinal chapters of the *KA* was published by Jolly in 1916 in *Nachrichten von der Gessellschaft der wissen Schäften Zur Gottingen*.

The second phase in Jolly's writings on the *KA* problem began in 1921 with the publication of an article entitled "*Eine neue Indische Rechts quelle*" in a journal of comparative jurisprudence.²⁵ In this article he held that the *KA* might be traced

20 Jacobi, H. "Kultur, sprach Und Literarhistorishes aus dem Kauṭilya" *Sitzungsberichte Der Königlich Preussischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1911. p. 954.

21 Jacobi, H. "Über die Echtheit des Kauṭilya" *Sitzung Berichte Der Königlich Preussischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1912. p. 849. English translation by V. S. Sukthankar available in *Indian Antiquary*, XLVII.

22 Jacobi, H. "On the Authencity of the Kauṭilya," *Indian Antiquary* XLVII, p. 195.

23 Jolly, J. "Kollektaneen Zum Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra*," *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1914. LXVIII, pp. 345-59 and LXIX, 369-78.

24 Jacobi, H. "Ist das *Daśakumāracarita* gleichzeitig mit dem Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra*?" *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1914. LXVIII, pp. 603-5.

25 Jolly, J. "Eine neue Indische Rechtsquelle," *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Recht Wissenschaft*, 1921. XXXVII.

to the fifth or fourth century after Christ, and believed that the work had perhaps as little to do with the half-historical Cāṇakya as the sayings of Solomon with the famous king Solomon.²⁶ His stand on the problem became clearer with his publication of the text of *KA* in 1923 from Lahore. In the introduction to volume-I of his book he took the *KA* to be an 'ancient imperial Gazetteer of India'.²⁷ He pulled down the date of *Kāmandakiya Nīṭisāra* and *Pañcatantra* to about the 6th and 4th centuries A.D. respectively,²⁸ credited Kauṭilya with familiarity of the whole body of the *Dharmaśāstra* literature including the most metrical *smṛti* fragments,²⁹ placed Kātyāyana in the 4th century A.D., and Kauṭilya in the third century. According to him "The minister Rākṣasa in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* is probably a myth, why should not Kauṭilya be mythical as well?"³⁰ He held that alchemy, metallurgy and *Suruṅgā* were used later than the 3rd century A.D. and therefore dated the composition of the *KA* in the 3rd century A.D.³¹

On the authorship problem he remarked: "The whole work considering its before mentioned unity of plan and structure, is likely to have been composed by a single person, probably a pandit belonging to a school of polity and law who to render a dry subject interesting introduced debates in which the *Pūrva-pakṣa* is put in the mouth of eminent sages or of deities whose names he got from the *Mahābhārata* or from tradition, while the *uttarpakṣa* or *siddhānta* is reserved for Kauṭilya.³² The ascription of the work to K(auṭilya) or cāṇakya was entirely due to the myths current regarding the fabulous minister who was looked upon as the master and creator of the art of polity and as the author of all the floating wisdom on the subject of *Nīti*. We ought to be content to possess in the *A(rthaśāstra)* a remnant of an early age, though the hope has been disappointed of its turning out a production of the 4th century B.C." ³³

That the discussion on the dating, authorship and the authenticity of the *KA* was influenced considerably by the nationalist movement was fully realised by Jolly. In an article published in 1925, he sought to challenge the Swarajist historians for their unshakeable belief in the authenticity and high antiquity of the *KA*. According to him "One cannot fail to see a connection of these *nur Scheinbar*

26 Quoted by B. K. Sarkar. *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Allahabad, 1921. 1, p. 276.

27 Jolly J. and Schmidt R. *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*, Lahore, 1923. 1, p. 1.

28 *ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

29 *ibid.*, p. 17.

30 *ibid.*, p. 34.

31 *ibid.*, pp. 34-43.

32 *ibid.*, p. 44.

33 *ibid.*, p. 47.

rein wissenschaftlichen Tendenzen (only apparently pure scientific tendencies) with the modern movements for freedom and autonomy. It lies in the interest of Swarajists to be able to refer to similar tendencies in the old literature of their father land. That is why most of the authors reviewed here do not wish to renounce the belief in the authenticity and early origin of the *Arthasāstra*, although, the evidence for it is inadequate. However, much one may sympathise with the freedom movements of these Indian researchers, their historical viewpoints and conclusions are to be accepted with caution (*vorsicht*) and cannot entirely exonerate the authors named here from the reproach (*vorwurf*) that they have not kept politics and history separate from each other".³⁴

Calcutta School

The triumvirate consisting of N. N. Law, Radha Kumud Mookerji and Benoy Kumar Sarkar from the 'Calcutta School' has left an indelible impression as the proponents of traditional Indian view about the *KA* problem. Their stand got further support from yet another nationalist stalwart, K. P. Jayaswal. According to Law, the *KA* throws a flood of light on the material, social and political condition of the ancient Hindus during the third and fourth centuries before the Christian era. It is a record of the age of Chandragupta.³⁵

In the introduction to Law's *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*. Mookerji summed up the arguments in support of the traditional and widely current view that the *KA* was the work of Cāṅkya, the minister of Chandragupta and therefore belonged to the 4th century B.C. He held that the work was the production of an individual author and not of a school.³⁶ As a reaction to a lecture delivered at Calcutta University by M. Winternitz on 17th Sept, 1923, in which he held a view contrary to the Indian tradition on the *KA*, N.N. Law defended the Indian tradition on the problem. The entire paper of Winternitz was subjected to a detailed scrutiny.³⁷

Like many of his predecessors, Benoy Kumar Sarkar did not question the traditional view on the *KA* till 1918. But afterwards he turned a little sceptic about its Mauryanism. He believed it to be a work on the philosophy of

34 Jolly, J. "Über die alte Politische literature Indiens Und ihre Bearbeiter" (on the Ancient Political Literature of India and Its Researchers), *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Recht wissenschaft* XII cited by B. K. Sarkar, *op. cit.* p. 280.

35. Law, N. N. *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, (Indian reprint Delhi, 1975, p. 1.

36 *ibid.*, (Introductory Essay), p. X.

37 Law, N. N. "The Kauṭīliya *Arthasāstra*," *Calcutta Review*, XIII, pp. 228-38

Kautilya. He wrote, "In so far as the *Arthaśāstra* is the work of a scholar, theorist, philosopher, *Gelehrter* or *Pandit* its statement cannot be depended upon automatically as descriptions of things as they were in Maurya times. On the other hand we should not be justified in calling it un-Maurya or post-Maurya simply because certain things known to be Maurya from other sources are not found to be in this book."³⁸

K. P. Jayaswal was in the forefront among the interpreters of the *KA* on the nationalist lines, whose writings from 1912 onwards later formed the part of his *Hindu Polity* (1924). His *magnum opus* had become too sacred to the Indian nationalists to be aptly called 'the Bible of the Indian Nationalists' by a modern Indian historian.³⁹ Appendix-C of his work examined the arguments advanced by Jolly in his introduction to the Lahore edition of the *Kautiliya Arthaśāstra* point by point and defended the Indian tradition of the date and the authorship of the *KA*.

Imperialists

As stated earlier even the imperialist school of historians had not questioned the nationalist view on the *KA*. In 1915 writing an introductory note to Shama Sastry's English translation, John Faithful Fleet assigned the text a date between 321 and 296 B.C. and held Kautilya to be the author of the text. He opined that though the existing text is perhaps not absolutely word for word that which was written by Kautilya still we have essentially a work that he did compose in the period stated above.

Another historian of this school is F. W. Thomas, whose views on the problem could be traced back to the introduction of his edition of *Brhaspatishūtra*, where he held that in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the subject of royal policy was a recognised topic. He became more precise when he placed the date of *KA* within or near the Mauryan period.⁴⁰

An Indian civil servant, F. J. Monahan took the *KA* as the basis for Mauryan institutions.⁴¹ He visualised that a number of vassal kingdoms comprised the empire and therefore the polity contemplated in this treatise is evidently that of a small state.⁴²

38 Sarkar, B. K. *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, 1 p. 248.

39 Sharma, R. S. *Aspects of Political Ideas And Institutions in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1968. p. 5.

40 Rapson E. J. (ed) *Cambridge History of India*, Delhi, 1955. 1 pp. 467-74.

41 Monahan, F. J. *The Early History of Bengal*, Humphrey Milford, 1925. pp. 30-1.

42 *ibid.*, p. 136.

Following Hillebrandt, Jolly and Winternitz; A. B. Keith also questioned the traditional view on the *KA* question. In 1916 he held it to be a creation of a school and assigned it a date of the first century B.C. In a paper one of the suggestions given by him regarding the solution to the problem was that Kauṭilya was an energetic student of the *KA*, who carried his theoretic knowledge into practice and in the evening of his days enriched the theory by knowledge based on his political experience, and that the *KA* is based on his teaching, though not by his own hand.⁴³ Regarding its date of composition he said, "It is however, perfectly possible that the *Arthaśāstra* is an early work and that it may be assigned to the 1st century B.C., while its matter very probably is older by a good deal than that."⁴⁴ We notice a drastic change in his view by 1928. He held that it might have been written about 300 A.D. by a court official somewhere in South India.⁴⁵ In a comparative study on Megasthenes's *Indica* and the *KA*, he favoured a late date for the text despite some similarities between the two.⁴⁶

While the triangular tug-of-war was going on amongst the nationalist, imperialists and the German school of historians, the *KA* problems were put to rigorous screening by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in Sir Subramanya-Aiyar lecture delivered in 1914.⁴⁷ He thought that Kauṭilya's work was composed during a period in which Pāṇini's work was either unknown or had not attained celebrity and influence. The *KA* is therefore Pre-Pāṇinian, i.e. prior to 350 B.C.⁴⁸ Defending the traditional view on the age, authenticity and homogeneity of the text Rangaswami Aiyangar asserted Kauṭilya to be pandit before he turned administrator. He thought it idle to deny that an exceptionally able and versatile man, who had proved by his own achievements, how a scholar could be a successful statesman, can, if need be, turn author, and compose a treatise in which he seeks to expound old views in the light of his own experience.⁴⁹ By citing numerous royal authors he justified Kauṭilya's case. In his opinion the text was homogeneous. The six kinds of evidence used by him in determining the age

43 Keith, A. B. "Authenticity of the Kauṭilya," *Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1926. p. 133.

44 *ibid.*, p. 137.

45 Keith, A. B. *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (reprint) Oxford, 1956. p. 461.

46 Keith, A. B. "The age of the *Arthaśāstra*," D. R. Bhandarkar, (ed) *B. C. Law Vol.* Calcutta, 1945. 1, pp. 477-95.

47 The lectures are now available in his book *Considerations on Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, Madras, 1935.

48 *ibid.*, p. 140.

49 *ibid.*, p. 158.

of the *KA* are (i) religious, (ii) political, (iii) historical, (iv) literary, (v) philological and (vi) astronomical.

In the eyes of Rangaswami Aiyangar mere moral or intellectual degeneracy cannot satisfactorily explain decadence or disappearance of the *Arthaśāstra* copies. Among other reasons he saw its use only by a very select esoteric section of the community hastening its speedy extinction rather than survival.⁵⁰ 'It should have roused public curiosity to infringe and royal vigilance to protect the mastery of the teaching and opinions. The possibility of the imposition of some kind of royal taboo on the text cannot be ruled out altogether: "In the ages of belief in the supernatural, parts of the *Arthaśāstra*, like book XIV, XIII.3, IV.2 etc. which deal with secret means, magic, spell and incantations should have been regarded by kings as dangerous literature which should not pass into the hands of enemies and disaffected subjects. Kauṭilya's inductive treatment of such topics as the overthrow of princes etc. should have made kings eager to prevent the popularisation of the *Arthaśāstra*. The tremendous prestige of Kauṭilya's name would also have cast a glamour on his treatise and generated even a fear of it.'"⁵¹

II

Indian Tradition questioned by Indian

It was for the first time in the history of the *KA* study that any Indian argued against the Indian tradition. In his presidential address to the first oriental conference held at Poona in 1919, R. G. Bhandarkar favoured for Kauṭilya a date between the first and second century A.D. According to him the date of the *KA* depended on the date of the *Kāmasūtra*, whose author Vātsyāyana was the earliest to notice the *KA*.⁵²

M. Winternitz⁵³ discussed this problem in detail. From the very outset he was against the Indian tradition. He did not consider the *KA* to be the creation of an individual and of course not of the minister of Chandragupta. Besides, it was not much older than the *Tantrākhyaṇikā* which was deemed to belong to the fourth century after Christ.

In 1923, in his Readership lecture at Calcutta University he extolled the value of the *KA*., although he did not consider it older than the seventh century A.D., when it was quoted by Daṇḍin.⁵⁴ His lecture in its treatment of the

50 *ibid.*, p. 21.

51 *ibid.*, foot note, 34, p. 20,

52 *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona, 1920. pp, 24-5.

53 Winternitz, M. *Geschichte Der Indischen Literature*, Leipzig, 1921. iii, p. 523.

54 Winternitz, M. "Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra," *Calcutta Review*, 1924. p. 14.

problems seems to be immensely influenced by the findings of his pupil Otto Stein against the synchronism of the *Indica* and the *KA*. He considered the chapters on minerals in the text to be a strong proof of the later origin of the *KA*.⁵⁵ He came across strong discrepancy between the strict Brahmanical religiosity of the author and the unscrupulousness with which the same author recommends all kinds of clandestine tricks in which religious rites and religiosity of the people are abused for political purposes.⁵⁶ He was not prepared to believe that we have in the *KA* really the work of the minister of the Maurya Chandragupta of the fourth century B.C. before us.⁵⁷

In spite of his serious scepticism about the reliability of the Hellenist ambassador Megasthenes Otto Stein undertook the scrutiny of the Mauryanism of the *KA* by the touch-stone of the *Indica*. His view about the *KA* problem as expressed in his book, seems to be in some what equivocal tune: "On the strength of an intensive comparison between the '*Indica*' of Megasthenes and the *Arthasāstra*, it is not possible to discover an agreement as some investigators have stressed. The synchronism of the two sources becomes, therefore, improbable and the authorship of Chandragupta's minister for the *Arthasāstra* doubtful."⁵⁸

After R. G. Bhandarkar, another Indian Scholar to voice against the Mauryanism of the *KA* and its composition by Kauṭilya was Kalidas Nag. In his book, he found it impossible to accept the view originally held by Shama Sastry and later on supported by Jacobi that the *KA* was written entirely by Chandragupta's minister around 325 B.C.⁵⁹ In the section dealing with diplomacy Nag discovered that the diplomacy is not that of a centralised empire but rather that of a divided feudality in which each chief is in constant conflict with his equals for a hegemony in its turn crumbles down by causing a new series of wars. This normal politics he ascribed to an age of political atomism which is just the opposite of the politics of a large empire. The diplomacy of Kauṭilya may be anterior or posterior to that of the Mauryas but does not contain any unerring traces of centralised imperialism of Chandragupta. He lamented that Indian Scholars are hypnotised by the name of Chāṇakya-Kauṭilya and found fault in the ascription of the fourth century B.C. as the age of the *KA* by N. N. Law

55 *ibid.*, p. 20.

56 *ibid.*, p. 25.

57 *ibid.*, p. 27.

58 Stein, Otto. *Megasthenes Und Kauṭilya*, Vienna, 1922. p. 302.

59 Nag, Kalidas. "Les Theories Diplomatiques, De L' Inde Ancienne Et L' *Arthasāstra*", Paris, 1923. English translation by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar available in *The Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, VI, p. 30.

whose *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* (1914) largely deals with Book-II. Nag considered this section to be a later interpolation.⁶⁰ The *KA* is not a homogeneous work belonging in its entirety to a single epoch and even if we accept the view that a great portion of the treatise was the work of Kauṭilya himself, it is equally probable that it was recast on several succeeding occasions. He cited instances in support of his theory that the *KA* is not a product of a single powerful brain but rather an encyclopaedia of Hindu political science to which more than one expert has contributed.⁶¹ Nag discussed why the *KA* is the only document on the subject and why it remained utterly unknown until Shama Sastry all of a sudden discovered it in a private library. He hinted at the solution of Aśoka's Hindu Science of *artha* and *rājanīti*-by introducing *Dharma* as the keynote of all human activity and as the moral element in *dharma* gained ground, it was permitted to sink into obscurity. He found some kind of protest against the Kauṭilyan mind from emperor Aśoka the grandson of Chandragupta.⁶² "History", said Nag, "Will decide whether India lost or gained by making the choice but the fact is that it rejected mainly the path chalked out by Kauṭilya-Chāṇakya to enter into that of Dharmakośa."⁶³ Explaining the circumstances in which interpolations could have crept in, he said that in a land like India the climate necessitates the frequent copying of manuscripts and it is well known that those transcriptions are the occasions not only of alterations in the text, but of considerable additions sometimes.

Contrary to Nag, U. N. Ghosal in the same year pleaded a date towards the end of the fourth century before Christ for the composition of the treatise.⁶⁴ He was in complete agreement with D. R. Bhandarkar in placing the beginning of the *KA* tradition not later than 650 B.C.⁶⁵ He accepted the same age of the *KA* in the treatment of the Mauryan fiscal system in another important work.⁶⁶

A big rebuff to the challenge to the Indian tradition by the triumvirate i.e. Keith, Jolly and Winternitz among others came from Ganapati Sastry, who edited the *KA* in three volumes with his own commentary called *Śrīmūla* between 1924-25 A.D. He justified the conventional view of the fourth century B.C. as the age of the *KA* and held Kauṭilya to be posterior to Yājñavalkya. He found

60 *ibid.*, p. 31.

61 *ibid.*, pp. 30-35.

62 *ibid.*,

63 *ibid.*,

64 Ghoshal, U. N. *A History of Hindu Political Theories*, Oxford, 1923, p. 21.

65 *ibid.*, p. 72,

66 Ghoshal, U. N. *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System*, Calcutta, 1929.

Kauṭilya revealing his high regard for and acquaintance with the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* by adopting it *ad Verbum* and *ad sensum* as well as by explaining and supplementing it when the latter treats of *Sāhasadaṇḍa* in the second *adhyāya*.⁶⁷ The other evidence cited by him in support of his claim is that of *Bālakṛīḍā*, a commentary on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* by Viśvarupāchārya alias Sureshvarāchārya a pupil of the great Śaṅkarāchārya. This commentator must have taken the *Arthaśāstra* of Bṛahaspati and Viśālākṣa to be *ārṣa* works known to Yājñavalkya and therefore, quoted from them to supplement Yājñavalkya's statement but not from Kauṭilya who was posterior to Yājñavalkya. On the basis of his reference in the *gargādigāṇa* under *Sūtra* 'gargādibhyo yañ' of Pāṇini, Yājñavalkya was considered to be known and, therefore, anterior to Pāṇini.⁶⁸

Another pioneering work on the problem was that of D. R. Bhandarkar. In his Manindra Chandra Nandy lecture delivered at the Benaras Hindu University in 1925, he controverted the then most prevalent views against the Indian tradition. He found enormous similarity of style between the *Dharma Sūtra* and the *Arthaśāstra* and therefore believed the latter to belong to a period between the seventh and the second century B.C. His upshot was that the work must have been composed by Kauṭilya, the Prime-Minister of the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta.⁶⁹ About the first and the last chapters of the text he said the Kauṭīliya had definitely undergone some modification or amplification shortly before Kāmandaka (A.D. 500) when the process of embellishment was taking place. It is in this process that a few strange or late things may have crept into it. He remarked that if at all there are interpolations, they are very few and very far between, so that the original text of the Kauṭīliya which is the present book minus its first and last chapters and which is in the old *Dharma Sūtra* style seems to have remained intact.⁷⁰ Bhandarkar justified the homogeneity of the text (minus first and the last chapters) by showing the evolution of chapters on the basis of (1) Preservation of what has been acquired, (2) the acquisition of new territory, (3) augmentation of what has been preserved, (4) distribution among the deserved of what has been so augmented, making the chapters fit in so well indeed under the scheme.⁷¹

Similarly, in utter disregard of his compatriots Hillebrandt, Jolly, Keith, Winternitz and Otto Stein, John Meyer fell in line with Hermann-Jacobi in

67 T. Ganapati Sastri. *The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*, Trivandrum, 1925, 1, (Introduction) p. 7.

68 *ibid.*, iii, p. 5.

69 Bhandarkar, D. R. *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity* (second edition), Varanasi, 1963. pp. 49-50.

70 *ibid.*, pp. 55-6.

71 *ibid.*, pp. 12-6.

defending the Indian tradition on the *KA*. His two books published consecutively in 1926⁷² and 1927⁷³ threw a flood of light on his approach to these problems. His German translation of our text devotes thirty six pages to vindicate the Indian tradition. He attempted to show that Kauṭilya of the Chandragupta Maurya fame, the ambitious and diplomatic Brahmin minister, the revolutionary philosopher and scholar, in the one single-author-compiler and reformer of the political science as embodied in the *Arthaśāstra* associated with his name. The tradition remains unshaken, in spite of modern attempts to assail it and appears even to be supported by very high probability.⁷⁴ He controverted the view of Hillebrandt that the portions marked *iti Kauṭilyaḥ* constitute the statements of Kauṭilya himself, but collected together by some of his followers who are accountable for the compilation of the whole book. Meyer stated that *iti Kauṭilyaḥ* may be written by Kauṭilya himself just as *iti Baudhāyanaḥ* by Baudhāyana in the *Baudhāyana Sūtra*. One does not have to make any distinction between the different portions of the work as regards authorship. With the exception of Book-II of our text which may be derived from or rather based on various sources, but is by no means independent of author's personal equation, the entire work appears to be the product of one fount, the creation of single man, and that man is no other than the person who is self-conscious enough to be ashamed of describing himself in his own book in the third persons as *iti Kauṭilyaḥ*.⁷⁵

Militant nationalism took its full circle in the writings of N.C. Bandopadhyaya (1927) who dedicated his book "To the sacred memory of the heroes that have won immortality in their battles for Hindu social and political regeneration, whose glories will awaken further generations to their sense of duty, whose spirit will dispel fear and bring hope for the future and will guide all in the path of justice, humanity and progress."⁷⁶ Despite his tall claims in the preface to have remained unaffected in toto by national and patriotic sentiments in the writing of this book, his chauvinistic subjectivity floats on the surface at times. This is discernible in his discussion on the nature of kingship, where he cited

72 Meyer, J. *Das Altindische Buch Vom Welt Und Staatsleben* (The Ancient Indian Book of Worldly and Political life), 1926.

73 Meyer, J. *Über ihr verhältniss zu einander Und zu Kauṭilya* (on the nature of Ancient Indian Law book and their Relations with one another and with Kauṭilya), 1927

74 Sarkar, B. K. "German Translation of Kauṭilyan *Arthaśāstra*," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1928, IV, p. 375.

75 *ibid.*, pp. 375-6.

76 Bandopadhyaya, N. C. *Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories*, (reprint), Delhi, 1980.

mātsyanyāya (law of fishes). Here he seems anxious to say : by no stretch of imagination can this passage be taken to prove Kauṭilya's belief in kingship as a divine institution. He spoke of election and of royal share as being paid in lieu of the king's protection.⁷⁷ These arguments were used as an armour to thwart the English justification of continuance of their rule over India. His description of the *KA* representing the current of thought of the fourth century B.C. might possibly have grown under the shadow of the above-said sentiments. Bandopadhyay, however did not exclude the impossibility of later additions of interpolations.⁷⁸

The year 1923 is remarkable in the history of the *KA* study. It is in this year that S. K. Aiyangar and V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar on the one hand, and E. H. Johnston and Pran Nath on the other took diametrically opposite stands on the *Arthaśāstra* riddle. Aiyangar held it to be a work of Kauṭilya, the minister, who assisted in the establishment of and in laying down the lines of administration for the Mauryan empire.⁷⁹ In one of his books Dikshitar utilised the *KA* for Mauryan administration.⁸⁰ In 1932 he brought out yet another book relating to Mauryan polity, in which he ascribed the *KA* to the Chancellor of Chandragupta Maurya and believed that the polity behind the Aśokan edicts is the Kauṭīliyan polity.⁸¹ The types of evidences examined by him were geographical, philological, literary, religious and astronomical. K. V. Rangaswami's method and themes loom large in the examination.⁸²

III

E. H. Johnston's interpretations bring the *KA* between Aśvaghōṣa of the 2nd century A.D. and Āryaśūra of the 4th century A.D. In his view the lower limit of its composition can hardly be later than A.D. 250.⁸³ According to him Aśvaghōṣa belonged to the second century A.D. and Āryaśūra to the 4th century.⁸⁴ While the former does not refer to the *KA* even in places where it would have strengthened his arguments, the latter deliberately parades his

77 *ibid.*, pp. 80-2.

78 *ibid.*, p. 76.

79 Dikshitar, V. R. Ramachandra. *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, Madras, 1929, (Introduction), p. XIII.

80 *ibid.*,

81 Dikshitar, V. R. Ramachandra. *The Mauryan Polity*, Madras, 1932. preface.

82 *ibid.*, p. 17.

83 Johnston, E. H. "Two Studies in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya," *Journ. of The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1929. pp. 86-8.

84 *ibid.*, pp. 77-81.

knowledge of it.⁸⁵ Regarding the venue of *KA*'s composition or the abode of the author Johnston thought the description fitted well in context with South Bihar and also a good deal of Central India. Book II does not quote from other works and read much more like the notes of an official with all-round experience than summaries from other works. It appears to be based on practical knowledge and the same practical vein runs through the handling of legal and other quotations in the three following books to show in which part of India the author obtained his experience so far as agriculture goes. The account fitted admirably with conditions in South Bihar not so well with North Bihar, and not at all with Bengal or North-Western India. The description would probably also cover a good deal of Central India.⁸⁶

The views of Pran Nath, a proponent of late date of the *KA* are known from his doctoral thesis approved from the University of London in 1929 and a study brought out two years later in the *Indian Antiquary*. In his thesis the general view taken was that *KA* was compiled during the Gupta period.⁸⁷ The text of the *KA* has been used considerably by him but Pran Nath did not discuss its age except in the introduction, where he assigns it an early date, perhaps not later than the times of the early Gupta Sovereigns.⁸⁸ In 1931 Pran Nath brought the date further down between 481 and 510 A.D.⁸⁹ On the basis of reference to some forest-tribes, navigation and some geographical units in the *KA* he held the author to belong to a place near the coast.⁹⁰ The original text was in verse and not in prose, he opined.⁹¹

In 1930, P.V. Kane held that the age of the *KA* could be settled approximately. In his opinion it could not be ascribed to a period later than the 2nd century A.D.⁹² Although in his discussion he was inclined to attest the Mauryanism of the text and its author.⁹³

In his two separate studies entitled *Das Grundeigentum in Indien*⁹⁴ (Landed property in India), 1927 and *Altindische Privatrecht bei Megasthenes und*

85 *ibid.*, p. 81.

86 *ibid.*, p. 101.

87 Pran Nath. *Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, London, 1929, p. 103.

88 *ibid.*, p. 8.

89 Pran Nath, "The Date of the compilation of Kaṭṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*," *Indian Antiquary*, 1931, LX, pp. 112-21.

90 *ibid.*, p. 110.

91 *ibid.*, p. 174.

92 Kane, P. V. *The History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona, 1962, 1, pp. 208-9.

93 *ibid.*, p. 197.

94 Breloer, Bernard. *Das Grundeigentum in Indien*, Bonn, 1927.

*Kauṭalya*⁹⁵ (Hindu Private Law as depicted by Megasthenes and Kauṭilya), 1928, both now incorporated in his *Kauṭaliya studien*, Breloer was not interested in the solution of the authenticity question but building up a critical standpoint which could prepare the way for solution. This higher critical method consists in the analysis of principal contents.⁹⁶ In his view the contents of the work, no matter who be the author, mirror forth actual life, practice and experience. This explains why his studies have taken him to the ancient, medieval and modern periods as well as to the east and west.⁹⁷

In the introduction to his second study Breloer felt disappointed with the report of Megasthenes and owing to a general lack of confidence, turned to jurisprudence.⁹⁸

In the beginning of his third study entitled⁹⁹ *Finanzver Waltung Und Wirtschafts führung* (Financial administration and Economic Planning), 1934, Breloer, influenced by his teacher Jacobi, accepted the traditional date of the fourth century B.C. He felt that the authoritative grammar of Pāṇini, which in point of quality is unsurpassed in the world, should, appear to be not far remote from the *Arthaśāstra* in time. He stated that the *KA* was a document of administrative law, the outline of *Magnacharta*, if not the legislative work of Kaiser Chandragupta, which would raise the emperor even above the Roman 'Kaizer Justinian'.¹⁰⁰ He remarked: 'even if the authorship of the iron-chancellor should be an historical fact, which there is hardly any substantial reason to doubt, it is only with the help of many scholars that like Tribonian he could have brought this compilation together.'¹⁰¹

His third study shows that Breloer also was influenced by the contemporary political events in Germany. More than half a dozen of Indo-German equations appear to have been at work in the scheme of Breloer's researches. Jacobi equated Kauṭilya with Bismark, his pupil equated Kauṭilya with Adolph Hitler.¹⁰² The Aryanism and race cult of Hitler's Socio-political philosophy influenced the ideology of Breloer. He began his work with a salutation to

95 Breloer, B. *Altindische Privatrecht bei Megasthenes Und Kauṭalya*, Bonn, 1928.

96 Breloer, B. *Kauṭaliya studien*, Osnabrück, 1973. 1. pp. 4-6.

97 *ibid.* p. 6.

98 *ibid.*, ii, pp. 6-7.

99 Breloer, B. *Finanzver Waltung Und Wirtschafts führung*, Leipzig, 1934. p. 11.

100 *ibid.*,

101 *ibid.*, p. 10.

102 Sarkar, B. K. "Kauṭalya Economic Planning and Climatology-Examination of Breloer's *Kauṭalya Studies*" *Indian Historical Quarterly*, ii, p. 334.

Kauṭilya as an Aryan and as a kinsman of the heroes of *Nibelungenlied* (an epic).¹⁰³

In 1937 Atindra Nath Bose subjected the 4th century B.C. traditional theory to a considerable amount of criticism and favoured the first century after Christ as the date of the *KA*.¹⁰⁴ This conclusion he arrived at on the basis of the evidence of the prevalence of the institution of slavery, numismatic data, geographical units, taxation, epigraphic terms and the employment of language in the text. The textual reference to *Suvarṇa*, a currency of the 1st century B.C. its similarity with the *Śusrut-saṃhitā*, a text of the 1st century A.D. the beginning of the Sion-Indian intercourse not prior to the 1st century B.C. mention of Ceylon by the *Periplus* in the 1st century A.D., emergence of *śreṇī* bankers and imposition of *prapaya* (tax) in the Nasik and Junagarh inscriptions—all put together relegate the *KA* to the 1st century A.D.¹⁰⁵ Bose considered the *KA* to be the composition of a single author but it should not mean that all he wrote was his own. It comprised writings of his predecessors.¹⁰⁶ The political philosophy of the present text fits not so well with Maurya imperialism as with an age of turmoil when local principalities were dissolving in internecine war.¹⁰⁷ Bose found an explanation of the social and political institutions of widely separated ages reflected in the floating doctrines incorporated systematically in the book, in a *de facot* author who hailed from a later age, remained obscure and was forgotten. It was he, who borrowed from earlier savants among whom Kauṭilya was one and may be the chief.¹⁰⁸

The old acute interest in the study of the *Arthaśāstra* with reference to these problems gradually started waning in India and abroad after 1940 or so. The nationalist scholars lost interest after the quit India movement and the attainment of freedom. The only significant study worth the name during this period was the *Kauṭilya studies* (1945) by Stein Konow. He favoured the Indian tradition by assigning Kauṭilya's work to the minister of the Mauryan Chandragupta. He thought that a good deal of the *Arthaśāstra* neologisms was borrowed by the *dharmaśāstra*¹⁰⁹ but he did not exclude the possibility of later interpolations in the text.¹¹⁰

103 *ibid.*, p. 105.

104 Bose, A. N. "The Date of the *Arthaśāstra*," D. R. Bhandarkar (ed.) *Indian Culture*, Calcutta, 1937. IV. p. 435.

105 *ibid.*, pp. 436-42.

106 *ibid.*, p. 443.

107 *ibid.*,

108 *ibid.*, pp. 443-4

109 Konow, S. *Kauṭilya Studies*, Oslo, 1945. p. 65.

110 *ibid.*, p. 6.

THE NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA AND THE OḌRAJĀ PRAKRIT*

By

BHAGABAN PARIDA §

The use of Prakrit dialect in Sanskrit drama is a well-established tradition. The earliest extant drama, the *Śārīputraprakaraṇa*, even in its fragmentary existence, not only testifies to it but also betrays the existence of a variety of Prakrit dialects befitting to characters. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NŚ), the earliest extant work on dramaturgy, is explicit as to the employment of both Sanskrit and Prakrit, when it records, *dvividhaṃ hi smṛtaṃ pāthyam saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ tathā*.¹ It also further divides Prakrit into *bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā*.² Under the *bhāṣā* it includes the dialects representing various regions, such as *Māgadhī*, *Āvantī*, *Prācyā*, *Śaurasenī*, *Ardhamāgadhī*, *Bāhlikī* and *Dākṣiṇātyā*. Under the *vibhāṣā*, which are subdialects, corrupt or base dialects, are included the dialects the number of which is given as seven. The mss. of the NŚ are unanimous on six *vibhāṣās*, namely, *Śākārī*, *Ābhīrī*, *Cāṇḍālī*, *Śābarī*, *Drāviḍī*, and *Vāṇecarī*. As to the seventh the text of the Baroda edition of the NŚ retains *Āndhrajā*, while that of the Nirṇayasāgara³ has *Uḍrajā* (*Uḍrajā* ?), while the mss. are divided. On the other hand, while prescribing specific *vibhāṣās* to particular characters, the printed editions of the NŚ omit both *Āndhrajā* and *Oḍrajā*. However, among the variant readings of the NŚ, XVII. 57, recorded in the Baroda edition⁴ some support the cause of *Oḍrajā*, while none supports that of *Āndhrajā*. On the other hand, the NŚ, XVII. 46, 58 prohibit the employment of the dialect *Āndhra* in the dramas. Rāmatakavāgīśa mentions *Autkalī* and Mārkaṇḍeya mentions *Oḍhrī*,

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1 The *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NŚ) (Baroda, 1934), XIV. 5. Baroda edition is always referred, unless otherwise specified.

2 NŚ, XVII. 49, 50.

3 NŚ (Nirṇayasāgara Reprint, Delhi, 1983), XVII. 49.

4 NŚ, p. 377 (footnotes, recording variants of XVII.57).

while neither mentions *Āndhraja* in the list of *vibhāṣās*.⁵ Thus, the case of *Oḍhrī* outweighs that of *Āndhraja* and deserves to be retained in the *NŚ*, XVII. 50, 57.

The *NŚ*, XVII. 51-53 make the specific assignment of the *bhāṣās* to the characters. Next, the *NŚ*, XVII. 54-56 mention the specific characters to employ specific *vibhāṣās*, treating only six *vibhāṣās*. While it is expected that the remaining one *vibhāṣā*, i.e. *Oḍhrī* is to get treatment, the next verse, as it stands in the Baroda edition of the *NŚ*, treats *Māgadhi* instead. Other editions also do the same. However, on the evidence of the mss. and with the demand of the occasion for another *vibhāṣā*, the text of the next verse, '*surāṅgākhanakādīnām sandhikārāśvarakṣatām | vyasanenāyakānām cōpyātmarakṣasu Māgadhi ||*', *NŚ*. XVII. 57, may be reconsidered on the basis of variant readings. Its first, third and fourth feet have negligible variants. The second foot deserves reconsideration and emendation. The variant readings are (a) *soṇḍikāyāśca rakṣiṇām* of the mss. *ca*, (b) *auṣṭrikāṇām ca rakṣatām* of the mss. *da*, (c) *auṣṭrikārāñca rakṣatām* of the mss. *na* and (d) *auḍhrikārasarakṣasām* of the mss. *ḍha*.⁶ The mss. *ḍha* clearly mentions *auḍhrika*, which may be accepted and connected with the preceding foot, *surāṅgākhanakādīnām* and that makes the diggers of the subterranean passages speak *Oḍhrikā*. But the reading *auḍhrikārasarakṣasām* is definitely a corrupt one; and it may be corrected as *auḍhrikā'surarakṣasām*. Thus, while the text of the Baroda edition of the *NŚ*, XVII. 57 means that *Māgadhi* is the dialect of the diggers of the subterranean passages, prisonwarders, grooms for horses and of the heroes in their distress, the emended text will mean that *Oḍhrikā* is the dialect of the diggers of the subterranean passages and *Māgadhi* is the dialect of the demons and goblins and of the heroes in their distress.

Though the reading '*auḍhrikā'surarakṣasām*' is not a satisfactory one, as *asura* and *rakṣas* are considered synonymous, this researcher has adopted it, because the original reading ..(a) *sura*.. might have been scribally corrupted to *rasa*..; and further, some texts like the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*⁷ show difference between *asura* and *rakṣas*. The indulgence of the scholars is craved to improve it. As a stop-gap arrangement *asurarakṣasām* may be retained. The assignment of *Māgadhi* to the *rākṣasas* is attested in the dialogue of the *rākṣasa* and his spouse in the prelude to the third act of the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa.

It may be asked why has the author of the *NŚ* assigned *Oḍhrī* or *Oḍrī* to the diggers of the subterranean passages in the drama ?

5 *Prākṛtakalpataru*, (ed. M. M. Ghosh, Calcutta, 1954), II.II.22 c; *Prākṛtasarvasva*, (ed. K. C. Acharya, Ahmedabad, 1968), XV.9.

6 *NŚ*, p. 377.

7 *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, (Gita Press, 2033V.S.=1976 A.D.), I.V.31, 43.

Odra means a country and a people as well. It has been the name of Orissa. *Odrī*, therefore, may be the dialect of *Odra* country or *Odra* tribe, the latter being more probable, as *Odrī* is a *vibhāṣā* and *vibhāṣās* are generally considered as the dialects of the tribes or groups. Throughout the whole of South India, beginning with the Telugu country, there has been a class of people known as *Oṭṭa* or *Oḍḍa* whose special occupation is excavation of tanks and wells.⁸ They are wellknown for their skill in earthwork. Medieval, such as *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*, considers *Oṃdas* (*Oḍras*) ? as tankdiggers.⁹ In South Indian (Telugu and Tamil) inscriptions of the times immediately after the commencement of the second millennium A.D., *Oṭṭar* or *Oḍḍar* is used to mean Oriyas or Orissa people.¹⁰ The *Oḍs* are also found in Punjab, Rajasthan and Western India.¹¹ From the legend of Satī Jasmā Oḍan we know that the *Oḍs* are diggers. Thus, the *Oḍras*, *Oṭṭars*, *Oḍḍars*, *Oṭṭas*, *Oḍḍas*, or *Oḍs* were experts in earthworks, especially in excavation of tanks and wells. They were probably expert in cutting stones. This skill of the Oriya people in subsequent centuries in erecting hugetemples at Puri, Konark and Bhubaneswar is wellknown.¹² These digging people might have migrated to the north and north-west India from Orissa, carrying with them their dialect known as *Odrī*. As they were famous as diggers, their service in digging trenches etc. was required by the kings, especially during warfare. Bharata probably marked the profession and the linguistic peculiarities of these digging *Oḍras* and prescribed their dialect *Odrī* to the diggers of subterranean passages in the drama, as it suited them most.

8 Chatterji. S. K. *The People, Language and Culture of Orissa* (Bhubaneswar, 1966), pp. 18, 19.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 Mehta M. L. and Chandra. K. R. *Prakrit Proper Names*, pt 1, (Ahmedabad, 1970) p. 114.

12 Chatterji, *loc. cit.* The *Oḍras* of present Orissa are agriculturists. Their digging forefathers, once settled, might have taken to agriculture, giving up the nomadic life and profession, as they were clever irrigationists besides being diggers of earth and cutters of stones.

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“ THE AŚVAMEDHA AS THE SYMBOL OF ONE'S OVERLORDSHIP ”

By

GIAN CHAND CHAUHAN

*The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*¹ states that the word 'Aśvamedha' is derived from the Sanskrit word which means Horse-sacrifice. In Vedic time this sacrifice was performed by kings desirous of offspring but subsequently it was performed only by kings and implied that he who instituted it was a conqueror and king of kings. A horse was turned loose to wander at will for a year, attended by a guardian; when the horse entered a foreign country, the ruler was allowed either to submit or to fight. The horse returned at the end of the year, the guardian obtaining on enforcing the submission of princes whom he brought in this train. After successful return of the horse, the rite called *Aśvamedha* was performed amidst great rejoicings. It was believed that the performance of 100 such sacrifices would lead to the attainment of the seat or world of Indra, who is therefore always, represented as trying to prevent the completion of the 100th sacrifice. 'Aśvamedha' is a very moot word. Some scholars are of the opinion that only kings could perform this rite but on the other hand many scholars are of the opinion that even Feudatory could perform this sacrifice. They gave their own supporting arguments on the basis of *Harivamśa*. There is a bit of controversy over this issue. But the *Aśvamedha* must be having a great imperial importance in Ancient times or Vedic time, but with passage of time it must have lost that importance. The *Aśva* or steed for a year roamed under the guardianship of a hundred princes, and a hundred nobles, a hundred sons of warriors and treasurers equipped with various kinds of defensive and offensive weapons. If the year were successfully passed the steed was sacrificed.² The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to the *Aśvamedha* of Bharata, son of Duśyanta and Pitugā, who celebrated sacrifices after their respective *digvijayas*,³ and it gives a list of 13 kings who had celebrated the *Aśvamedha*.⁴ These sacrifices seem political sacrifices but sanctioned by religious custom. But with the commencement of the historical period these *Yajñas* fell into destitute, due to the fact that the true *Kṣatriya* lines had become impure by mixed marriages-and there was no monarch like the Kings of heroic age to indulge in such costly rites. It is also noted that the *Yajñas* were not the exclusive right of the *Kṣatriya*. A *Brāhmaṇa* could also perform it.

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We cannot fix a particular period for its origin, but *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* indicates its aim "The *Aśvamedha* is the atonement for everything, the remedy for everything, Thereby the Gods redeem all sins, even the slaying of a *Brāhmaṇa*.⁵ It is worth remembering in this connection that *Aśvamedha* involved "an assertion of power and display of political authority such as a monarch of undisputed supremacy could have ventured upon" and according to its celebration in the form formulated in the '*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* could hardly be held before the emergence of territorial states in India roughly around the 8th century B.C. *Aśvamedha* was not only later in origin but also seems to have been rare in incidence. Unlike the *Rājasūya*, to which even a petty ruler was fairly entitled *Aśvamedha* involved an exhibition of political authority such as only a paramount monarch could have dreamt of "verily, poured away in *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* says "who bring weak performed *Aśvamedha*⁶ and same sentiments are echoed in the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*⁷ But, when it was "A king ruling the whole land may perform *Aśvamedha*." Its exceptional character proved a serious threat to the spread and survival of their ritual, and when (*Śat-Brāh.*)⁸ in conjunction with the (*Taittirīya Brāh.*)⁹ speaks of the sacrifice as having gone out of vogue, it merely refers to the rare incidence of the sacrifice.

All the kings who were actually consecrated with Indra, are represented as "going round to the earth completely, conquering on every side, and offering the horse in sacrifice." To the list of the kings and princes who performed the famous rite the (*Śat-Brāh.*)¹⁰ added the names of the Pārikṣitas Bhīmasena, Ugrasena, and Śrutasena; the Kosalan king Paru Aṇṇāra Hirisaṇyanābha; the Aikṣvāku king Purukutsa Daurgaha; the Pāṇchāla king Kraivya, the superman of Krivis and Śoṇa Sātrasaha, the matsya king Dhvasan Dvaitavana, and the Śvikna king Rīṣabha Yājñatura. The *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* says that a paramount king may perform the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.¹¹

King Daśaratha performed *Aśvamedha* sacrifice for the birth of child or son. He intended to perform an *Aśvamedha* Yājña,¹² and this *Aśvamedha* was commenced on the Northern bank of the Śarayu and R̥ṣyaśrīṅga guided its operations.¹³ Rāma on returning to Ayodhyā expressed his desire for the performance of *Rājasūya* sacrifice. But Bharata asked him not to perform this sacrifice, and his younger brother Lakṣmaṇa requested him to perform the *Aśvamedha*, the destroyer of all sins.¹⁴ In the *Mahābhārata*, the *Aśvamedha Parva* lays down that the *Kṣatriya* can free himself from impious acts through the performance of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. Vyāsa is said to have advised Yudhiṣṭhira to prepare for *Aśvamedha* when the latter desired to get rid of the sins he had perpetrated by taking human lives on the battle-field of Kurukṣetra.¹⁵ Indra is likewise to have sinned by killing the *Brāhmaṇa* vṛtra.¹⁶ Only horse was the principal victim in *Aśvamedha*, being offered for the appeasement of the

God Prajāpati, the presiding deity of the sacrifice. All the horses are not considered suitable for *Aśvamedha*. A white coloured horse with dark circular spots, or a white horse with a dark frontal part, or one with a tuft of dark blue hair was usually selected for the sacrifice.¹⁷ But even in some countries outside India importance was attached to the colour of the victim. In Greece, for example, the victim sacrificed to the heavenly god were usually light in colour while offered to the cathonian gods were invariably black.¹⁸ The horse selected was a male, and this is easily conceivable, for apart from its involvement in religious copulation with the crowned queen on the second satyā days it is served as symbol of Prajāpati. The purpose of the copulation with queen is not described properly.^{18A} The *Aśvamedha* raises political status, and helps the performer to get the heaven.¹⁹ And the Ancient Indian political thinker had placed the ideology of *Digvijaya* before the king for political unity of the country and establishment of an all India empire. This idea of *Digvijaya* was realised by performing the *Aśvamedha* which necessitated the conquest of whole of the country.²⁰

The nature of the *Aśvamedha* which has been referred to by Kālidāsa was absolutely political. No religious consequence or merit was expected to follow from it at least, in this case Puṣyamitra as a means to *Digvijaya*. Kālidāsa's description has touched the ground of contemporary times, as it was bound to be, parallels have been brought in to reflect his own age. For *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, an ambitious king proceeded soon after his succession to the throne as a world conquest (*digvijaya*),²¹ after the accomplishment of which alone the *Aśvamedha* or *Rājasūya* sacrifice could be performed and the highest Indian monarch realized. This conquest was mostly accomplished in one of the two ways either the king waited at home for the return of the victorious heir-apparent, the appointed the wandering horse let loose for the purpose of the *Aśvamedha*, as in case of Puṣyamitra, Śuṅga of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.²² He himself made the conquest in the manner of Raghu leading his armies in person from province to province and country to country.²³

Kālidāsa has made frequent mention of this sacrifice. The description given in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is vivid. The frequency of references in Kālidāsa to horse sacrifice may point out to its prevalence during his time which was indeed one of Brāhmaṇical glory and renaissance.²⁴ But if the performer achieved paramountcy over other princes, the entire extent of land which was wandered over by the unbridled horse came under the sway of its liberator if it came back to its destination and the kings who were the master of that extent of land became his vassals.²⁵ The escorting of the wandering horse was a most responsible one and was entrusted only to very responsible officials of the state, generally to royal kingman. The appointment as the guardian of a horse consecrated for sacrifice was deemed a great honour which may be inferred from the zeal with

which the parents of Vasumitra hailed the news of their son escorting the horse back home.²⁶ Dhārīṇī, the mother of Vasumitra, welcomes the informer with her thoughtful and proud observation. "To a responsible post, indeed, has my son been appointed by the general."²⁷ As a result of the happy news Agnimitra announces liberty²⁸ to all the prisoners of the realm and the *pratihārī* is loaded with valuable presents²⁹ by the ladies of the harem whom she goes to inform of the victories of Vasumitra. The *Yuvarāja*, who guarded the horse, was accompanied besides his army, with the sons of his father's vassals, and with those of his minister.³⁰

Although *Aśvamedha* finds mentions in two hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, there is very likelihood that they are interpolations of much later days. It seems that the horse sacrifice was most recognised institution at the times of the earliest phase of Vedic religion. Altekar echoes the generally accepted view when he asserts that Samudragupta performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice to celebrate his memorable victories in north and south India. But there is a great deal of probability in postulating that the cause of Samudragupta's observance of the horse sacrifice was entirely different.³¹ The term *Aśvamedha* is frequently used in the *History and Culture of the Indian People 'The classical Age.'* This volume states that Kumargupta I also performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice and assumed the title *Māhendrāditya*.³² Nārāyaṇa-varman or his predecessor performed two *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. This indicate some increase of the power of the family under him. Perhaps he threw off the yoke of the Gupta's in the first half of the 6th century A.D.³³ In a short record inscribed on rock in the kapili valley *Mhārājādhirāja* Bhūti-varman is said to have performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. He probably flourished about the middle of the 6th century A.D.³⁴

Nothing is known of the son of Bhūti-varman, but his grandson Sthita-varman is said to have performed two *Aśvamedhas*. Ādityasena assumed the imperial title and performed the three *Aśvamedhas*.³⁵ Ayāsobhita II and III Madhyamarāja who ruled at least 26 years and performed *Aśvamedha* and other sacrifices, and *Mahārāja* Davaravaman performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice³⁶ too. Rāmatīrtham plates with the homonymous king mentioned in the 1st set and Polamura to as having performed eleven *Aśvamedhas* and thousand other sacrifices.³⁷ Mādhava-varman-pulakeśin I 535-66 A.D. described as having *Aśvamedha* and other *Śrauta* sacrifices.³⁸ Śivas-Kanda-varman who ruled probably about the beginning of the 4th century A.D., seems to have been the greatest of the early Pallvas. He performed a number of Brāhmaṇical sacrifices like *Aśvamedha*.³⁹

After long survey of some early Indian texts, especially the Brāhmaṇa, Kālidāsa and epic, modern works are more or less incubent on great *yajñas*, the *Rājasūya* and *Aśvamedha*. Kings of the epic and heroic ages spent a good deal

on performing these sacrifices whatever its aim might be, the fact remains that the *Aśvamedha*, died hard and kings of historical period came forward to survive and performed it. The *Aśvamedha* came with the passage of time to be regarded as a symbol of one's overlordship or paramount rule. It became a custom with kings to profess their valour to conquer the earth and perform the *Aśvamedha* or the horse-sacrifice. The *Aśvamedha* is a public confession of the monarch that he was not merely a secular person in outlook, but this conquest of each had not any material consideration behind it. It was again a public proclamation to other chiefs and friendly monarch that he was to be acknowledged by one and all as the suzerian lord. Thus, it was religion on the one hand and prestige on the other that dominated the performance of the *Aśvamedha* by a monarch. By this, he established his Pre-eminence in the empire.

The *Aśvamedha* was infact a challenge thrown to the existing political powers. The horse of the conquering monarch was set free to wander wherever he wished for a period of one year. If the horse was seized by any chief, then that chief was regarded as an opponent. The conqueror sent out his army or himself led the expedition, put down the opponent with the might of his army and recovered the animal. Then the sacrifice was performed and full suzerainty was claimed as a matter of right. We know some details about this horse-sacrifice from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa where many references are found. Thus the *Aśvamedha* was a corollary of the *digvijaya*. In fact the *digvijaya* was incomplete in itself. It was the horse sacrifice that gave it completeness. Killing of animal in itself is a greatest sin. The escorting of the sacrificial horse is a mean affair. We can say that there might not be any religious purpose behind this *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. It may be regarded as the symbol of one's overlordship.

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Abbreviations

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 1. Āpasta. | <i>Āpastamba 'Śrauta Sūtra</i> |
| 2. H.Dh. | <i>History of Dhramasāstra</i> |
| 3. H.C.I.P.C.A. | <i>History and Culture of the Indian People, Classical Age</i> |
| 4. Māl. | <i>Mālavikāgnimitra</i> |
| 5. Mbh. | <i>The Mahābhārata</i> |
| 6. P.S.D. | <i>The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> |
| 7. Raghu | <i>Raghuvamśa</i> |
| 8. S.B.E. | <i>Sacred Books of the East</i> |
| 9. Śat, Br. | <i>Śatapatha, Brāhmaṇa</i> |
| 10. Taitt, Br. | <i>Taittirīya, Brāhmaṇa</i> |
| 11. Udyoga, P. | <i>Udayoga Parvanh</i> |

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IMAGES OF MAITREYA FROM GAYA

By

RAJIV KUMAR*

Gaya, a picturesque city, surrounded by rocky hills, is one of the ancient cities of India. Its antiquity and how the city derived its name, is shrouded in obscurity.¹ Gaya occupied an unique place in the evolution and development of the culture and civilization from the very beginning of the human activities. From the recent excavations at Taradih in Bodh-Gaya, one thing is certain that Gaya is the only site in the country which yielded the material remains right from neolithic period down to the Pāla period without any cultural break. The region has contributed considerably in the field of artistic pursuits too. Large number of sculptures have been found scattered all over the region which reflect the contemporary religious beliefs. In this article I wish to illustrate some of the best images of Maitreya.

Maitreya is supposed to be passing the life of a Bodhisattva in the Tūṣita heaven preparatory to his descent to earth in human form. It is said that he will come to earth full 4000 years after the disappearance of Gautama Buddha for the deliverance of all Sentient beings. He is the only Bodhisattva who is worshipped alike by the Hīnayānists and Mahāyānists and his images can be traced from the Gandhāra school down to the present time. Maitreya may be represented as a standing figure adorned with rich ornaments and holding in his right hand the stalk of a lotus. He is distinguished from *Padmapāṇi* mainly by the figure of a small chaitya which he bears on his crown.²

He is three faced, three eyed and four armed. His right and left faces respectively are of blue and white colour. He sits in the *Paryāṅka mudrā* on an animal. His two hands are engaged in exhibiting the *Vyākhyāna mudrā* and a full blown Nāgakeśara flower with its branches. He is decked in many ornaments.³

In the *Niṣpannayogāvali*,⁴ Maitreya is described as golden in colour and having four arms with his two principal hands displaying *Dharmacakra-mudrā* and the remaining two showing *Varada-mudrā* by the right and the twig of a Nāgakeśara with flower adhered to it in the left. Else where, the same work⁵ states that Maitreya is yellow in colour and holds the flower of Nāgakeśara in his right hand, while with the left he carries the mendicant bowls.

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Maitreya heads the list of Bodhisattvas in the *Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala*.⁶ In the *Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala* he is described as:

"Maitreya is of golden colour. With the two principal hands he displays the *Dharmacakra-mudrā*. The other two hands show the *Varada mudrā* in the right and the twig of a *Nāgakeśara* with flower in the left."⁷ Getty remarks that in Indian Sculpture he shows in his hands the usual *Dharmacakra-mudrā*, in the left there is a vase, round, oval or pointed, or there may be the stems of flowers which support his two characteristic symbols, the vase and the wheels. Maitreya may also be represented seated as a Buddha, with legs either interlocked or dangling down. Sometimes his images bear the figures of the five *Dhyāni* Buddhas, on the aureole behind.⁸

A bronze statuette from Kurkihara⁹ (a village situated about 3 miles north-east of Wazirganj and 16 miles east of Gaya) housed in the Patna museum represents Maitreya standing on a lotus placed over a quadrangular pedestal and holding the stalk of a *nāgakeśara* flower emerging from the root scroll in the pedestal by his left hand. His right hand is held in the *Varadamudrā*. A miniature *stūpa* distinguishes him as the future Buddha-Maitreya. His hair is arranged in the form of the *Jaṭāmukuta*.

Another image of Maitreya, the future Buddha, has been recovered from Visnupura village in the Gaya district and presently preserved in the Patna Museum.¹⁰ With three bonds (*tribhaṅga*) in his body, the deity is seated in the *Sukhāsana-mudrā*, and exhibits *Abhayamudrā* by his right hand. He has a fully fleshy body with well rounded limbs.

Four image of Maitreya,¹¹ the future Buddha have been found at Fatehpura, situated at a distance of 32 kms. from Gaya. These sculptures are presently housed in the state museum at Gaya. Three of the four bronze images, show the God seated in the *Sukhāsana mudrā* on a double petalled lotus with his left leg folded and placed on the seat and the right knee slightly raised up. He has his right hand extended and resting on the right knee, displaying the *Vitarka mudrā* by it. While the left hand placed on the seat supports the weight of his body slightly inclined towards the left in the easy posture. The deity is distinguished by the presence of the diminutive of the stupa in the crown over the head. He puts on a beaded or pearl *yajñopavita*. Two *Nāgakeśara* plants with flowers and leaves attached to them, rise from the lotus seat enclosing the body of the God on both the sides.

In the fourth statuette,¹² the god sits in the *Ardhaparyāṅka mudrā* with his left leg folded and placed on the seat and the right one hanging down and resting on a miniature lotus emerging from the lower part of pedestal itself. He is exhibiting the *Abhaya-mudrā* by his raised right hand. The left hand placed on the left knee is also holding a *nāgakeśara* plant by its stalk. There is another

nāgakeśara plant on the right side as well. As in the preceding examples, the two nāgakeśara plants with flowers and leaves attached to them, enclose the body of the God from both the sides. The hair of the God arranged in the form of matted locks is decorated with the miniature stupa. The lotus seat over which the God sits is double petalled. Maitreya puts on a *dhōti* and an upper garment which covers only his left shoulder, his right shoulder and the chest on the right side having been left bare. The God is seen putting on a beaded or pearl *Yajñopavīta*.

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ŚAŚADHARA ON ARTHĀPATTI

By

KASHINATH HOTA*

0.0.

Śaśadhara, the author of the *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa* (NSD.), flourished in 12th century A.D. NSD. deals with 26 *vādas* 'discussion on controversial issues.' The present study is my observations on one of those *vādas* namely, the *arthāpattivāda*.

0.1.

Arthāpatti is accepted as a distinct means of valid knowledge by the Mīmāṃsakas, (i.e., the Prābhākaras and the Bhāṭṭas) and the Advaitavedāntins, because it produces a knowledge of facts which cannot be produced by any source other than the *arthāpatti*. The other philosophers like the Jainas, the Buddhists, the Naiyāyikas, the Vaiśeṣikas, the Sāṅkhyas and the Yogins refuse to accept it as a distinct *pramāṇa* or a source of valid knowledge primarily because they think that the inference itself can serve the purpose. Śaśadhara as a Neo-logician also holds the same view. In this *vāda*, Śaśadhara has mainly presented the arguments of the Prābhākaras and refuted them from the stand-point of the Naiyāyikas.

1.0.

The definition of *arthāpatti* as Śabara presents is that it is a presumption of an unperceived fact on the ground of a fact already seen or heard, and without such unperceived fact, the fact that is seen or heard remains unexplained. For instance, when we know that Devadatta (D) is alive, but not found in his house, the facts of his being alive and his non-existence in the house become inexplicable without the postulation of an unperceived fact of his outside existence.¹ Here, the conflict arises between the Prābhākaras and the Naiyāyikas on the issue regarding the means of getting the knowledge of D's outside existence. One encounters such conflict only when he comes to know that D is not in his house, but alive. To know D's outside existence the Prābhākaras require a separate

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1 *Arthāpattir api dṛṣṭaḥ śruto vārtho'nyathā nopapadyate ity arthakalpanā, yathā-jīvati devadatte grhābhāvarāśanena bahirbhāvasyādṛṣṭasya kalpanā; Mīmāṃsāsābarabhāṣyam*, ed. by Yudhisthira Mimamsaka, Bahalgarh, Sonipat, Haryana, Pt. I, 1977, p. 30.

pramāṇa called *arthāpatti*, whereas the Naiyāyikas know it through inference, i.e., *Kevalavyatireki-anumāna* (*KVa.*) 'inference having only the negative invariable concomitance.'

1.1.

The Naiyāyikas open the arguments against *arthāpatti* as follows : To maintain *arthāpatti* as an independent *pramāṇa* whatever example is cited by the opponents, (i.e., the Prābhākaras) can be brought into the form of inference. Thus, the outside existence of D who is alive, is known since he is not in his house.² Not only that, this statement also can be put forth in the form of a five-member-syllogism as follows :

1. Proposition (*pratijñā*) : Living D has an outside existence (*jīvi devadattaḥ bahiḥsattvavān*);
2. Reason (*hetu*) : Because being alive he is not seen in his house (*jīvitve sati grhābhāvāt*);
3. Example (*udāharaṇa*) : Being alive he, who does not exist outside, cannot have his non-existence in the house, just like another one, who exists neither in the house nor outside, is not a living one (*jīvitve sati yaḥ na bahiḥsattvavān na sa grhābhāvavān, yathā anayoḥ ko'pi yasya na grhābhāvavān nā'pi bahiḥsattvam na sa jīvi*);
4. Application (*upanaya*) : He is not as such, i.e., D is not non-living and yet does not exist in the house (*na cāyam tathā = na cāyam devadattaḥ ajīvi, tathāpi grhe na tiṣṭhati*);
5. Conclusion (*nigamana*) : Therefore, he is not such, i.e., D has no non-existence outside, i.e., he has outside existence (*tasmāt na tathā = tasmāt na devadattasya na bahiḥsattvam, ataḥ sa bahiḥsattvavān*).

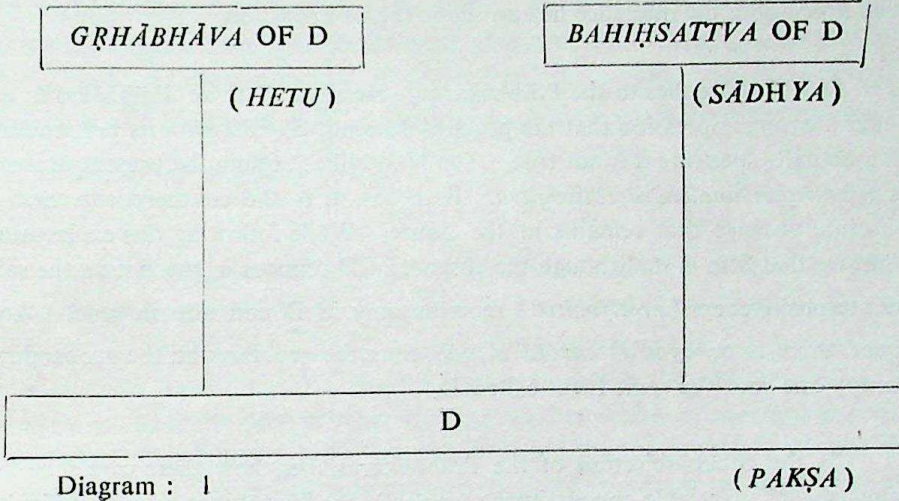
On the ground of the above syllogism the Naiyāyikas claim that when the desired knowledge, i.e., the knowledge of D's outside existence, is cognized through the *KVa*, there is no need to accept *arthāpatti* as an independent *pramāṇa*.

2.0

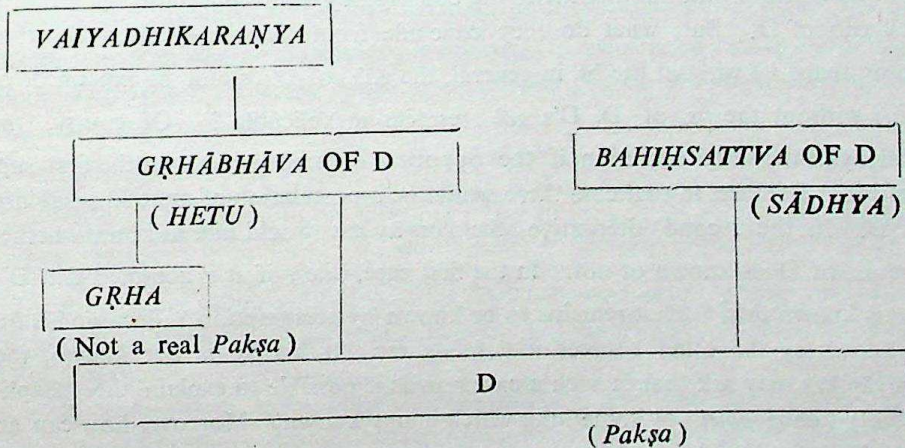
But the Prābhākaras do not agree with the said opinion. They point out that out of the five *avayavas* since the probans (*hetu*) is an essential factor of inference, it should be free from the defects. But in the present case, the probans *grhābhāva* (*gāb*) 'the absence (of D) in the house' is not as such. Because, according to the principles followed by the inference, the probans should have a co-existence with its probandum (*sādhya*). That means the absence of D in his

2 *Jivataḥ devadattasya bahiḥsattvam pratiyate, gehābhāvaadarśanāt.*

house (as a probans) should occupy a locus wherein D's outside existence is seen. The following diagram may clarify the opponent's position.



But, in the present case it becomes inconsistent to the context. See the diagram 2.



Here, the probans, *gāb.* remains in the house, but not in D who is actually treated as a real *pakṣa*. On the other hand, the probandum, *bahiḥsattva* (*bs.*) exists in D. If the present probans and the probandum are allowed to occupy

different loci, it will lead to the defect of *vyadhikaraṇatā* 'the state of possessing different loci.' Moreover, when the probans does not co-exist with its probandum, how can one hold the invariable relationship between them? So, in such a position, the inference has no scope for its operation.

2.1.

Śaśadhara replies to the Prābhākaras. He says that the Prābhākaras are under a wrong impression that the probans does not co-exist with its probandum. But, actually speaking it is not true. The Naiyāyikas explain the present probans as *grhaṇiṣṭhātṃyantiābhāvapratiyogitva*. It means, it is the counterpositiveness of absolute absence that remains in the house. While following this explanation what we find here is that though the absence of D remains in the house, the said counterpositiveness (*pratiyogitva*) remains only in D and not in *grha*. And hence, there is no *vyadhikaraṇatā* of *gāb*, since the probans and the probandum occupy one and the same locus called D.

2.2.

To the other objection of the Prābhākaras, i.e., how there would be the knowledge of invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*), the Naiyāyikas have no difficulty to know *vyāpti*, since it is also possible to show the co-existence of the probans with its probandum.

2.3.

On the same issue, i.e. related to *vyāpti*, the Naiyāyikas pose an awkward question to their opponent. They ask that the Prābhākaras always try to maintain that without the *bs.* ther arises the contingency of inexplicability as regards the *gāb.* of D. But, what do they conclude from this statement? Do they mean that (i) without the *bs.* in general, the *gāb.* of D cannot be explained, or (ii) without the *bs.* of D, D's *gāb.* remains inexplicable? Of course, the Naiyāyikas have no objection if the opponent does not agree with the first suggestion. Because, in that case there would be a postulation of mere *bs.*, but not of D. In the second alternative, the Naiyāyikas would like to know whether the *bs.* of D. is known or not. In the first case, (i.e., if it is accepted that D's *bs.* is known then) what remains to be known by presumption? Because his *bs.* is known by the other sources iike *śabda* etc. If his *bs.* is not known, the Naiyāyikas may ask that in such a case how is it possible to explain the inexplicability (*anupapatti*) by something which is not known? Moreover, how can an inexplicability which is not known, be the ground for knowing something?

2.4.

What the Naiyāyikas want to emphasize here is the *vyāpti* between X and Y, and that *vyāpti* is possible only when both X and Y are known entities. It

is our experience that a known entity alone can be the ground for knowing some object which is not known. But if it is accepted that an unknown entity also can be the ground for knowing something which is not known, then it will lead to the fault of over-application (*ativyāpti*). And in such a case one will postulate the outside existence of Caitra on the basis of mere absence of the existence, (i.e., without being known) of D in the house. But it goes against our experience.³ Moreover, if Y is not known then how can one say that without Y, X cannot be explained?⁴

3.0.

The Prābhākaras are not ready to accept the said view of the Naiyāyikas. Because the inexplicability of D's *gāb.* can be explained even by merely postulating his *bs.* It is a fact that the question of qualified cognition (*viśiṣṭajñāna*) is a common factor for both, the Naiyāyikas as well as the Mīmāṃsakas. The Naiyāyikas establish qualified cognition through the notion of *sāmānya* or general expression. The Mīmāṃsakas have also followed the same procedure to get such cognition. Thus, in general way of expression, when mere *gāb.* does not arise without mere *bs.*, the *gāb.* of D will also not arise without the *bs.* of D in the case of particular way of expression.⁵ In this way, the Mīmāṃsakas do not face any difficulty to explain the inexplicability of D's *gāb.*

3.1.

Śaśadhara replies to the Prābhākaras by pointing out that what the Prābhākaras establish regarding the knowledge of *anupapatti* of D's *gāb.* without his *bs.* (as a ground of *arthāpatti*) is nothing but *avinābhāva* 'inseparable relation,' i.e., *vyāpti*. The expression of *anupapatti* can be shown in the form of

3 *Anirūpitayārthāpattiyā ced arthasiddhis tadā devadatta-grhāsattvena caitrasva bahiḥsattvaṃ siddhyetetyatiprasaṅgaḥ: Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*, (Tippanam of *Arthāpattivāda*) ed. by B. K. Matilal, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad 9, 1976, p. 222.

4 *Katham ajñāta-sambandhaḥ śakyate' vagantum ayam anena vinā nopapadyate iti; Brhatī*, ed. by Ramnath Shastri, The University of Madras, Pt. I, 1934, p. 110.

5 *Viśakalitaṃ nāma kevalaṃ bahiḥsattvaṃ tena vinā grhāsattvamātraṃ ced anupapannaṃ, tadā devadatta-grhāsattvaṃ api devadatta-bahiḥsattvena vinā'nupapannaṃ syād iti viśeṣa-tarkasahakārāt viśiṣṭāvagamaṃ nāma devadatta-bahiḥsattvāvagamaḥ; Matilal, op. cit. p. 223.*

(Here, the knowledge of Devadatta's outside existence is the qualified cognition (*viśiṣṭāvagama*) and it is to be treated as the result of *arthāpatti*).

vyāpti as to *jīvtve sati yaḥ na bahiḥcsattvavān na sa gṛhābhāvavān*. So, since the negative concomitance is established here, one can know *D*'s. *bs.* through *KVa*.

3.2.

One can further ask at this point as to what type of *arthāpatti* is meant by the Prābhākara: whether that *vyatirekianumāna* (*Va.*) which has no *vyapti* and *pakṣadharmatā* (*pak.*) ' the state of being the existence of a probans in the subject ', is called *arthāpatti*, or that *va.* which has *vyāpti* and *pak.* is called *arthāpatti* ? If first one is accepted then *arthāpatti* cannot operate, since no relationship is established here. If we accept the second one, it will amount to having two different forms for one and the same *pramā* ' true cognition ' namely, *anumiti* by the Naiyāikās and *arthāpatti* by the Prābhākaras.

4.0.

Prābhākara's next argument is that without the knowledge of *pak.* how does the inference operate ? To explain, since *D* is beyond the contact of our eyes we cannot get the knowledge of *Pak.* If without the knowledge of *pak.* an inference is allowed to operate then there will arise the contingency of over-application in various cases such as one can have an inferential cognition of fire in the lake with the smoke, and similarly, one can also infer fire on the mountain on the basis of a donkey. But all these are against our experience.

4.1.

The entire objection is criticized by Śaśadhara. He says that not only the Naiyāyikas but also the Prābhākaras who hold *arthāpatti* as a separate source of valid knowledge, will have to answer the question raised by the Prābhākaras. Because, for the *arthāpattivādins* also, the knowledge of the counterpositiveness of the absence which exists in the house is to be accepted even if we don't have any direct contact of the sense-organ with *D*. Likewise, in inference also, even without the contact of the sense-organ, (i.e., the eyes with *D*) we can know the existence of a probans, i.e., *gṛhaniṣṭhātvyantābhāvaprattivyogitva* in *pakṣa*, i.e., *D*.

To substantiate this argument a similar instance of such inference can be cited here. Thus, *paramāṇu* possesses some size, because it is a substance. That which is a substance must have some size. Here, *paramāṇu* is *pakṣa* and *dravyatva* is *hetu*. Though atom has no gross size and therefore, it is not possible to have any sense-organ-contact with it, still the knowledge of the existence of *dravyatva* is cognized in atom. Because, in such cases there arises the confirmatory mental cognition (*mānasa parāmarśa*).⁶ And hence, there is no difficulty to get the knowledge of *pak.*

6 *Pramāṇuḥ parimāṇavān dravyatvāt iti paramāṇuvṛttidravyatvasyāsannt-
karṣe' pi upanītānāṁ pūrvam jñātānāṁ mānasaḥ parāmarśaḥ bhavaty eva, Matil-
lal, op. cit., p. 226.*

5.0.

Coming to the other argument that since no word like *rātribhojana* 'eating at night' is mentioned in the inferential statement, *pīno devadattaḥ divā na bhuñkte*, Devadatta who is flabby, does not take food during the day,' and since no one has seen D's eating at night, how can that inference operate without the knowledge of probandum?

5.1.

To this objection, the Naiyāyikas reply: It is our experience that unless someone takes food sometimes either during the day or during the night, he cannot be flabby. Knowing the above condition we can very well establish that there exists a cause-and-effect relationship between *bhojana* and *pīnatva*. In other words, *bhojana* is the cause of *pīnatva*. With the above knowledge when we know that a person is flabby, but does not take food during the day, naturally we will infer his eating at some other time viz. during the night. And that eating during the night is to be considered as the probandum of the present inference.

6.0.

The Prābhākaras further claim that the hypothetical argument (*tarka*) can be justified enough to be the postulator of D's outside existence. The hypothetical argument, in the present context, is explained; if D is not seen present outside the house, then being alive he will never be absent from his house.⁷ Not only that, it also establishes the cause-and-effect relationship between the non-existence of D, who is alive, in the house and his existence outside, and therefore, it, (i.e., *tarka*) becomes the ground for producing the knowledge of his outside existence.

6.1.

But this is not accepted by the *Siddhāntin*. What he replies is that D's *bs.* as a probandum can be accomplished by the *viparyayaparyavasāna*, 'that which terminates in the contrary'.⁷ The expression, *viparyayaparyavasāna* as given by Guṇaratnagaṇi in the *tippana* of *Arihāpattivāda* of Śaśadhara seems to be referring to the negative concomitance. If this is to be treated as the negative concomitance then *tarka* is not a necessary factor for the present inference.

7.0.

The *Siddhāntin* forwards some arguments of the Prābhakaras. D has hundred years of life, is accomplished by his horoscope. On the basis of such cognition we can establish that D exists somewhere since he is alive. But we

7 *Tarka eva vā bahiḥsattvādikalpako* 'stu. *Evam hi saḥ yadi devadatto bahir asan syāt jīvīve sati gṛhe asan na syāt iti*, Matilal, op. cit., p. 100.

are not sure as to where does he exactly exist. The other proof, perception reveals that he is not seen present in his house. The Prābhākaras remark at this point that when D's existence is definitely not known in some particular place, we cannot confidently say that he exists in the house, and as a result here, his existence in the house becomes doubtful. By the same reason there also arises the ambiguity about his non-existence in the house (*gāb.*). If this would be the case then how do the Naiyāyikas infer the outside existence on such ground where *gāb.* is ambiguous? As a matter of fact, an inference takes place only when there is a definite cognition of a probans. But the present probans, i.e., *gāb.* is the reverse of what is desired, and hence, the inference has no scope for its operation here.

7.1.

The Naiyāyikas reply to the said objection. They say that if the Prābhākaras hold *gāb.* as the doubtful cognition, there would arise a great difficulty even for them to get the knowledge of inexplicability (*anupapatti*). Because, to explain the knowledge of *anupapatti* what is required is the undoubtful cognition of *gāb.* Moreover, the life that is a qualifier of the probans, *gāb.*, will also become doubtful since the qualificand, *gāb.* itself is involving with doubt. And in this situation the Prābhākaras will have to postulate one's death, but actually speaking, that goes against their theory. For the postulation of outside existence the accepted view, according to them, is based on the ground namely, *jīvita* and *gāb.* that are really not ambiguous.

7.2.

It is also here worth-noticing that what the Prābhākaras say about the doubt of *gāb.* is not correct, because the direct perception confirms that D is absent from his house. In fact, what is really doubtful here is the knowledge of *gāb.* The reason is that the generating ground of *gāb.* does not give any clear evidence about his existence in some particular place, but it only explains that he exists somewhere. So, in that case there is no point in arguing that since D's *grhasattva* is doubtful, his *gāb.* must be doubtful too. Not only that, soon after the perception of *gāb.* the doubt about his *grhasattva* also disappears immediately, because the perception furnishes a clear evidence that D is not present in his house. In this way, the Naiyāyikas do not find any difficulty to infer D's outside existence on the basis of *jīvitva* as well as *gāb.*

8.0.

The opponent further suggests that let the doubt lead to the postulation of D's outside existence. The process of arising such doubt may be given in the following: From the astrological source (*aṣ.*) one gets a definite cognition about D's hundred years of life and the other proof, i.e., perception tells that he exists in his house. At some other time, when he perceives that D is not in his house,

there arises a doubt about the validity of the two *pramāṇas* viz. *as.* and the perception, and he explains whether D is alive or not, or he exists in the house or not. This doubt can be removed with the help of some auxiliary cause like *tarka* by which we can set aside one *pramāṇa* which appears to be invalid. Thus, with the help of *tarka* if we neglect *as.*, ultimately, both of the *pramāṇas* will be invalid. In such a case, one can postulate his death, since he is not alive and not being alive one cannot be present in his house. But if the perception (which expresses the knowledge of his existence in the house), is set aside, there is no difficulty to postulate his existence outside, since he is alive as well as absent from his house. So it is very clear that the act of setting aside his existence in the house is simpler than the act of setting aside his life. In this way, the opponent establishes doubt as the cause of *arthāpatti*.

8.1.

The above argument goes against the theory of the Naiyāyikas. To substantiate their stand they reply that there is no such ground to show the doubt as the cause of D's outside existence. The knowledge of his outside existence can be had by the inference namely, *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa*.⁸ Thus, when one knows D's life and his existence in the house from different sources namely, the *as.* and the perception respectively, and when, at some other time, he perceives that D is absent from his house, he accepts the validity of one of the grounds through a *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* inference only. Let us put forth this inference in the following form : "Of the two proofs namely, that which asserts his hundred years of life and that which results in his existence in the house, one is considered as valid and the other one as invalid, because they, (i.e., both the proofs) cause two contradictory cognitions"⁹. Now, we will have to see which one is really invalid. To know it, the Naiyāyikas resort to the *tarka* that follows the logical simplification, and it decides that the perception of *grhasattva* is an invalid one. On the other hand, when the perception is proved to be invalid, one confirms D's life as valid. At this stage, there will be no scope for the inference of his death, since his life has been already proved as valid. So, when one's life is confirmed and his absence in the house is known, we can very well establish his outside existence through inference. Not only that, this process is also better than that of *saṁśaya*. If we recourse to the method of *saṁśaya* then in the case of

8 *Sāmānyatodṛṣṭam nāma-yatra'pratyakṣe liṅga-liṅginoh sambandhe kenacid arthena liṅgasya sāmānyād apratyakṣo liṅgi gamyate, yathecchābhīr ātmā...*, *Nyāyadarśanam* (Vātsyāyanabhāṣya), Ed. by Taranath Nyaya Tarkatirtha, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2nd edn. New Delhi, 1985, pp. 156-57.

9 *Jīvitagrāhaka-niyamagrāhakapramāṇayor madhye ekam pramāṇam anyad apramāṇam, virudhārthagrāhakatvāt.*

inference and verbal testimony etc. the doubt alone would be treated as the cause and in that case, there will be no *pramāṇa*, such as *aumāna*, *śabda* etc. other than the *arthāpatti*.¹⁰

9.0.

Some of the Mīmāṃsakas have an opinion that the knowledge of contradiction between the two proofs namely, the general and the specific leads to a postulation (*arthāpatti*). Thus, what is known through a general proof is that D exists somewhere. In fact, we do not find here any specific location where D is expected to be present. In such a case, he may exist in the house also. But, the specific proof, i.e., perception, leads us to notice that D does not exist in the house. Now, the said two cognitions appear to be contradictory to each other. Because, we cannot state that a person exists in a particular place and at the same time does not exist there. This contradiction can be resolved only by postulating D's outside presence. On the basis of the above argument the Mīmāṃsakas substantiate that the contradictory cognition (*virodha-jñāna*) is the cause of *arthāpatti*.

9.1.

Śaśadhara criticizes the said objection. He contends that there is no such contradiction between the foresaid two proofs. Because while analysing the proof of that 'He exists somewhere' one can find D either in the house or outside the house. It is not that a person who is alive, always would be present in his house. So his existence can be located outside the house also. And hence, the above contradiction is not true.

10.0

After a long discussion we arrive at a conclusion that the process of inference and that of presumption as demonstrated by Śaśadhara, is one and the same. An inference requires *vyāpti* and the existence of a probans in the subject (*pak.*) for its operation. It is not impossible to show those factors in the case of *arthāpatti* also. While showing the relationship if one goes from general to particular there is no fault in it and hence, there is no difficulty in putting all the *arthāpatti* statements in the form of syllogism. To judge it impartially, the required factor for the operation of both inference and *arthāpatti*, is a contradiction, as it were, which is removed by the process of postulating or inferring. Thus, it is one and the same process of generating a true cognition, call it *anumāna* or *arthāpatti*, it matters very little.*

10 *Anumiti-śabda-pramāḍau saṁśaya eva karaṇam syād ity arthāpattir eva pramāṇam syān na tv anumānādikam*, *Matilal*, op. cit., p. 229.

* I express my deepest obligation to my respected Guru Prof. V. N. Jha, Director, CASS, University of Poona, for guiding me to write this paper from the very beginning to the end.

A DAKṢAKANYĀ SATĪ MYTH—A STUDY

By

JAYA CHEMBURKAR*

The various religious movements which took place in ancient India, find their reflection in the Purāṇas. A glorification of a particular deity in a Purāṇa can be said to be a reflection of a religious movement aimed at raising the position of that particular god or a goddess. For this purpose the Purāṇas have either fabricated stories or they have made use of floating myth or stories known to tradition. One of such myth is the famous myth about Satī, the daughter of Dakṣa. This myth occurs in a number of Purāṇas such as the 'Śiva Purāṇa',¹ the Kālikā Purāṇa,² the Skand, the Matsya, the Padma, the Vāyu Purāṇa and the Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Though the central theme is common in all these Purāṇas, the details in the myth are different.

This paper proposes to study this myth in the Śiva Purāṇa and Kālikā Purāṇa only.

Presentation of the myth in the Śiva Purāṇa³ and Kālikā Purāṇa⁴

The Divine Mother was born as Dakṣa's daughter viz. Satī, according to the boon given to Dakṣa (ŚP. 12.18-25; KP 8.30). She was going to be the wife of Śiva. (ŚP 12-21, 27, 35; KP 8.30, 32, 34, 65).

She was married to Śiva. At the time of Her marriage, God Brahmā being deluded by Śiva's Māyā, is said to have looked at Satī with passionate eyes. (ŚP 19.18-30; KP 11.27-29). Śiva wanted to kill Brahmā, but He was prevented by Viṣṇu who enunciated the unity of three of them. (ŚP 19.64, 68, 72-74; KP 11.51, 53, 54, 55; 13.51, 52).

Once Dakṣa performed a sacrifice at which all the gods were invited. But Śiva and Satī were not, because Śiva according to Dakṣa was inauspicious, not noble, not in keeping with the spirit of the Vedas, a king of evil spirits, ghosts, etc. (ŚP 29.31; KP 16.30) and Satī was a wife of Kapālin (KP.16.31)

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1 Śrīśīyamahāpurāṇam—Pandit Pustakalaya Kasi.

2 Kālikāpurāṇam—Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi 1.

3 Śiva Purāṇa, Satī-Khaṇḍa=ŚP

4 Kālikā Purāṇa=KP

According to the ŚP, the sage Dadhīci who was a Śaiva protested against Dakṣa's attitude in not inviting and recognising Śiva. He and other worshippers of Śaṅkara walked away from the sacrificial ground. (ŚP 27.47-49).

When Satī came to know this, She resorted to yoga and put an end to Her life, with a view to discarding the body that was born of Dakṣa. (ŚP 29.39; 30.2-6; KP 16.48-51; 17.16).

According to the ŚP an aerial Speech condemned Dakṣa for not listening to Dadhīci's advice (ŚP 31.2-4) and instructed all the gods to go away from the sacrificial hall. (ŚP 31.32-35).

When Śiva came to know about the death of Satī, He created Virabhadra and ordered him to destroy the sacrifice of Dakṣa (ŚP 32.20-22, 46-59; KP 17.40, 41).

The ŚP states that Dakṣa's sacrifice was destroyed. The sacrifice started running away in the form of a deer; its head was cut off by Virabhadra (ŚP 37.45, 46). Virabhadra also cut off the head of Dakṣa to punish him (ŚP 37.61).

According to the ŚP, the gods Brahmā and Viṣṇu prayed to Śiva to forgive Dakṣa, to restore him to life to complete his sacrifice. A long, significant eulogy was offered by Viṣṇu to Śiva (ŚP 41.15-48). Śiva is said to have revived Dakṣa by placing the head of the sacrificial goat on his body (ŚP 42.21-28). Dakṣa repented for his act, he prayed to Śaṅkara. He realised his mistake and admitted that Śiva was Maheśvara, to be attended upon by Brahmā and Viṣṇu also. He then became a devotee of Śiva (ŚP 42.32-41; 43.23).

Śiva in the end enlightened Dakṣa as follows—Four types of devotees viz. *ārta*, *jijñāsu*, *arthārth* and *jñānī* worship Him. *Jñānī* is dearer to Him than the other three. Śiva is to be known by knowledge and not by mere Vedas and sacrifices. Dakṣa tried to cross the worldly ocean by means of only *Karma*, and that is why he incurred the wrath of Śiva. He enunciated the identity of Brahmā Viṣṇu and Śaṅkara. (ŚP.43).

Dakṣa then became a devotee of Śaṅkara and offered a share to Śiva in his sacrifice (ŚP. 43 23.27) and completed the sacrifice (ŚP 43.28)

The ŚP remarks—Śiva is *Parabrahma* free from sorrow, how, then, can there be grief of death of Satī to Śiva ?

The account in the KP is different towards the end of the myth. In the KP there is no mention of the cutting off of the head of either Dakṣa or his sacrifice. The KP tells us that the deer-formed sacrifice entered the dead body of Satī when it was chased by Śiva. When Śiva saw the dead body of Satī, he forgot chasing the Sacrifice (KP 17. 52-54). He started lamenting for Satī. He placed the dead body of Satī on his shoulders and began to roam about (KP 18. 36, 37) with grief. To relieve Śiva of His delusion, the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, by their *Yogamāyā*, entered into the dead body of Satī, and cut down

part by part Satī's body (KP 17. 37-40). The Goddess is known by different names in the different places where the parts of Her body fell e.g. at Devikūta, she is called Mahābhāgā, in Kāmarūpa, Kāmākhyā etc. (KP 18. 41-43). Wherever Śiva carried Satī's deadbody, that region is called the country of the *Yājñikas* (KP 17. 44). Out of affection for Satī, in the places where the parts of Satī's body fell, Śiva stays in the form of a *liṅga* (KP 18.46).

Śiva is said to have lamented due to *Māyā*. The gods, therefore, prayed to *Māyā* to leave Śiva. When left by *Māyā* Śiva is said to have realised the unreal nature of the Universe and meditated on the Highest Being (KP 24.5, 6, 7, 8, 28-33, 38).

Comments

(A) The purpose of the Satī-myth in the ŚP can be explained as follows—Śiva was the god of the non-Aryans. When He was incorporated into the Aryan pantheon, in the beginning there might have been reluctance to accept Him and offer Him a share at the sacrifice, because of His non-Vedic character which is hinted in Dakṣa's words—*amangalastu te bhartāsśivo'ssau gamyate buhaiḥ / akulīno vedabāhyo bhūtapretapiśācarāt* (ŚP 29.31).

*tasmānnāvhāyito rudro yajñārtham sūkveśabhrt /
devarṣi samsadi māyā jñātvā putri vipaścitā ||* (SP 29.32).⁵

This myth can be said to be the reflection of that Aryan attitude. With the complete amalgamation of the two races viz. the Aryan and the Non-Aryan, this myth might have been fabricated to establish Śiva as a Supreme God and His identity with Brahmā and Viṣṇu. Cosmic functions of creation sustenance, destruction were personified and deified. Śiva became a personification of destruction in this scheme. With the rise of Śaivism He became Supreme God. The subject matter of the *Śiva Purāṇa* is the glorification of Śiva as a Supreme God. In this myth Śiva is glorified by the sage Dadhīci, aerial speech and the gods describe Him as *Parabrahma*, as a Lord of Sacrifice. All this is meant to assert Śiva's Supreme Status. As a sectarian Purāṇa would do, here God Brahmā is humiliated by describing his lustful behaviour; Viṣṇu is made to refer to himself as Śiva's attendant—*tvam me svāmī parabrahma dāso'ham te sadāśiva / poṣyaścāpi sadā te hi sarveṣām tvām pitā yataḥ* (ŚP 42.48) and is unable to protect Dakṣa and his sacrifice. Though these two gods are thus relegated to inferior position, as a Vedantin, the *Purāṇakāra* also describes the three gods as identical.

5 "The irreverent character of Śaivism seems to be hinted at in a dialogue between Dakṣa and Siva in the Mbh. He is perhaps on account of their characteristic non-Brahmanical ideas". Hazra, R. C. — *Purāṇic Records on Hindu rites and Customs*; p. 201, Motilal Banarsidas; Delhi, 1975.

(B) Enunciation of devotion to Śiva is the object of the ŚP. In a nut shell, in this myth, the ŚP has alluded to *jñānabhakti* to Śiva, for which the Purāṇa is obviously indebted to the *Bhagavadgītā*.

(C) So it will be observed that the Satī-myth is incorporated by the Purāṇa to establish Śiva as the Supreme Being and to make Dakṣa who refused to recognise Śiva as God, who refused to offer Him His due share in the sacrifice, a devotee of Śiva. Śiva Purāṇa has given more importance to Śiva than Satī.

(D) The KP being devoted to the description of worship to Goddess, gives more importance to the Goddess. As *Māyā* she causes delusion to Śiva. Being deluded by *Māyā Śaṅkara* is described as lamenting like a mortal being. (KP 24.5). The purpose of the myth in the KP is obviously to attribute sanctity and holiness to the various Śakti Pīṭhas or centres of Śakti worship. Wherever the parts of Satī's body fell, that place is said to have become a place of worship, a place of pilgrimage. The idea of cutting and distributing the parts of Satī's body can be said to be a device to create centres of Śakti worship. It will be seen here that this idea resembles the Buddhist idea of erecting a stupa on the relics of Gautam Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, and creating thereby a holy place of worship.

Origin Of This Myth

It will be interesting to trace the origin of this myth. The germs of the story about *Dakṣa-Kanyā Satī* can be said to be present in the stories in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

In XIII.9 The story in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* runs as follows.

Prajāpati was enamoured of his daughter. The gods, therefore wanted to inflict him. When they could find none among themselves, capable of punishing Prajāpati, the strong ones among the gods combined to create one single individual for this job. This was Rudra. The gods told him to pierce Prajāpati; and choose a boon whereby he became Paśupati. When Rudra pierced Prajāpati, he fled up into the sky. That Prajāpati (in the sky) is known as "*mṛga*" (lunar mansion called *mṛgaśīras*) and Rudra is known as "*mṛgavyādha*" (name of the fifth lunar mansion consisting of three stars) and that red-coloured daughter is known as Rohiṇī (name of the fourth lunar mansion.)

The stories in the Brāhmaṇas have been composed for different purposes. They explain sometimes the importance and significance of some sacrificial rite, sometimes they attempt etymological explanations of words etc. The above mentioned story explains as to who Rudra is, how he got the name Paśumān (Paśupati). Further it explains an astronomical phenomenon pertaining to *mṛga* (lunar mansion), *mṛgavyādha* and Rohiṇī (name of fifth and fourth mansion resp.).

We know from this that Prajāpati corresponds to mṛga (lunar mansion) and Rudra corresponds to mṛgavyādha and the daughter of Prajāpati corresponds to Rohiṇi (fourth lunar mansion). Prajāpati fleeing away in the form of a deer is a fanciful description.

The *Śatapath Brāhmaṇa* narrates the story as follows :

Prajāpati conceived passion for his own daughter and united with her. This was a sin in the eyes of the gods, who therefore asked Rudra to pierce him. Rudra did accordingly. When the anger of the gods subsided, they cured Prajāpati; and cut out that dart of Rudra, and said to one another, "Think of some means by which that part of his which is torn out by the dart may not be lost, and how it may but be a small portion of the offering itself". They took it round to Bhaga. But as soon as Bhaga looked at it, he burnt his eyes and became blind. Then they took it to Pūṣan who when he tried to taste it, had his teeth knocked out and became toothless. Then they took it to Bṛhaspati who accepted it without being injured only because he had first derived his power from Savitr.⁶

This story refers to some atmospheric phenomenon which is indicated by the identification of Prajāpati's daughter with either the sky or the dawn. (*divam voṣasam vā mithunyaneyā syāmiti tām sambabhūva* (*Śat. Brā.* 1.7.4.1).⁷ Besides this the story also identifies Prajāpati with yajña (*Śat. Brā.* 1.7.4.4 *sa vai yajñah eva prajāpatiḥ*)⁸ and further tells us that the gods tried to restore that part of yajña which was torn out with the arrow of Rudra. In this attempt Bhaga lost his eyes and Pūṣan his teeth, and Bṛhaspati, only impelled by Savitr could restore it without being injured. This information is useful for our purpose. This narration suggests that sacrifice was shattered by some destructive force and the God Bṛhaspati re-established it.⁹

In the Śānti P. and the Droṇa P. of the Mbh we come across a story describing the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice by Maheśvara whom Dakṣa refused to recognise as Maheśvara and did not offer him a share in the sacrifice (*Śānti P.* 285. 10292). The sage Dadhici condemned Dakṣa and protested against his irreligious attitude. Śiva, therefore, is said to have damaged Dakṣa's sacrifice.

6 Cf. Devasthali, G. V.; *Religion and Mythology of the Brāhmaṇas, with particular reference to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, pp. 5-6; University of Poona, 1965.

7 Cf. Ibid. p. 6;

8 Cf. also *Kauṣitaki Brā.* XIII.1

9 Devasthali, G. V., *Religion and Mythology of the Brāhmaṇas, with particular reference to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*; pp. 5-6; University of Poona, 1965.

The sacrifice fled in the sky in the form of a deer. Śiva is also said to have broken the teeth of god Puṣan who was eating a sacrificial offering (*Droṇa P.* 203-9550; *Śānti P.* 205, 10340, 10345). The gods then surrendered to Śiva, and promised a share to him (*Droṇa P.* 203, 9553; *Śānti P.* 284, 10252-10257; 285, 10345-10345). Śiva then connected the part of the sacrifice (*Droṇa P.* 203, 9554).

This story very clearly indicates that before Śiva's inclusion in the Vedic pantheon, at some stage, there was reluctance in the society to accept him as god, and offer him a share. But when Śiva destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice etc. finally the gods accepted him and he was given a share.

If we link up the two stories in the *Ait. Brā.* and the *Śat. Brā.*, we can say that they have laid the foundation of the story of Dakṣa and his daughter in the *Mbh.* and the *Purāṇas*. The difference is Prajāpati in the *Brāhmaṇa* story is the creator, i.e. God Brahmā and in the *Mbh.* and also in the *Purāṇas* Dakṣa the son of God Brahmā is designated as Prajāpati. In both the places Rudra punished Prajāpati for offending his daughter. According to the *Brāhmaṇas* the daughter is Uṣas and according to the *Mbh.* and the *Purāṇas* daughter is Umā or Śatī. Further the *Mbh.* and the *Purāṇas* have borrowed the idea of the sacrifice running away in the form of a deer, from the two stories in the *Ait. Brā.* and the *Śat. Brā.* The *Ait. Brā.* tells us that Prajāpati fled away in the form of a deer and the *Śat. Brā.* tells us that Prajāpati is "yaña." The two stories put together thus tell us that the sacrifice fled in the sky in the form of a deer, when pierced by Rudra. The *Śat. Brā.*, the *Mbh.* and the *Purāṇas* refer to the gods Puṣan and Bhaga and their suffering at the hands of Rudra. Later on the *Śiva P.* and the *Kālikā P.* narrated the story of Dakṣa and his daughter Satī with more details to suit their purpose.

Conclusion

The word *Purāṇa* means what is old; what is ancient is recorded here; what must have happened in the remote past has been recorded here with pertinent changes and innovations to suit the purpose of the respective *Purāṇa*.¹⁰ Very often a charge is made against the *Purāṇas* that the *Purāṇas* narrate the same old stories. This charge is true. The Satī-myth presents a remarkable similarity; many verses are common to both the *Purāṇas*. Either they have been copied from one *Purāṇa* into another or they both have a common source. But on perusal they show that though the central idea is the same, the details differ in order to suit the purpose of the *Purāṇa*. Stories and myths which were well known to the tradition have been incorporated in the *Purāṇas* for a specific purpose. Such myths have enriched the *Purāṇa* literature.

10 Cf. Winternitz; *Hist. of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 582, University of Calcutta, 1927.

COSMOLOGICAL NOTIONS IN MEMORIAL RITUAL

(according to *Garuḍa-purāṇa*)

By

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The research of the development of the forefathers' cult and its rites in India helps us understand the most ancient layers of Indian culture at the basis of which there lies mythological explanations of the order of the universe and a system of rules to preserve it with the help of ritual actions. Both forefathers' cult ritual and its mythology are the most ancient interpretations of the position of human being in the universe and in human society.

The second part of the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* (*Uttara-khaṇḍa*)¹ contains vast and scantily explored material which can be used in research of forefathers' cult. Due to fact that the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* is a compilation of the texts different in content and in the time of their creation, it is very difficult to date them even approximately. It is believed that the oldest parts were being formed in 4-7 centuries A.D. and finally it was formed in 9-10 century A.D. There were, however, some further alterations still later. As for the second book (*UttKh*), the difficulties to date it are connected with the fact that we obtain citations in other medieval literature, but as for the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* itself, there are no texts of the above-mentioned citations, because of the previous alterations of the known editions.²

It testifies to the fact that the text we have at our disposal is of late origin. Nevertheless the core of the book can be old enough as there is some evidence of existing of the *Tārṅśya-purāṇa*,—an ancient text, the subject-matter of which is similar to that of *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of *Garuḍa-purāṇa*.

The second book is an independent work containing 35 chapters (1401 *ślokas*) to 49 chapters (2895 *ślokas*). Different editions have different number of chapters (and *ślokas*). In the book there are descriptions of death, its omens

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1 *Garuḍa-purāṇa, Uttara-khaṇḍa* (further-*UttKh*)—Calcutta, 1890, p. 602-718.

2 Abegg, E.: *Der Pretakalpa des Garuda-Purana*. B., 1956, s.8; Gangadharan, N.: *Garuḍa-purāṇa—a Study*, Varanasi, 1972, p. 143-147, *The Garuda-purana*, P.I, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, 1972, p. XXVII-XXX.

and causes. There are stories of the late people, their posthumous fate. There are also descriptions of the other world and the hells. It also includes ritual texts dealing with funeral rites and forefathers' reverence. Because of the compilational character of the book, there are many contradictions, discrepancies and repetitions in the text. Along with archaic interpretations, there are sophisticated and metaphorical explanations of the rituals. It is possible to follow the evolution of the cult of forefathers only while comparing the same themes and investigating the same rituals in the ancient and in the medieval traditions. Such comparison is connected with the problem of the evolution of the myth and mythological texts.³

When there is a change in mythological basis of understanding of the beginning and the death of the world, of the society and of the human being, there is a change in interpretations of the memorial rituals. The form of the ritual, however, remains the same. In some cases it is possible to understand the initial meaning of the rites only while reading some earlier texts, such as the Vedas, the Upaniṣads, the Brāhmaṇas, the Gṛhyasūtras and the Dharmaśāstras.

There is quite a variety of memorial rituals depicted in the *Garuda-purāṇa*. For our investigation we chose the rite of memorial sacrifices, the so-called *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha*, closely connected with funeral rites and devoted to the defunct persons. *Śrāddha* is sacrifice of food, which is similar to memorial rituals of many other ancient societies.⁴ Later in the article it will be proved that this memorial ritual expresses certain cosmological beliefs. There is a great variety of the *śrāddhas*, differing in particulars of the ritual, in time, aim and place of performance and corresponding to different stages of the development of the ritual.⁵

The third chapter of the *Laws of Manu* contains the classical depictions of the order of *śrāddha* performance.⁶ The ritual begins with sacrifice in the fire, the aim of which is to facilitate the security of further ritual actions. Then the priest with his right hand sprinkles the place of *śrāddha*, going clockwise. After that three *piṇḍas* are sacrificed. *Piṇḍas* are usually small quantities of rice, rolled up into balls; sometimes the balls were made of different sorts of sacrificial food. *Piṇḍas* constituted certain symbols: the first ball was considered to be the symbol of earth; the second was the symbol of rain and atmosphere and

3 See: Lotman, Yu. M. & Uspenski, B. A.: *Myth-Name-Culture—Works Concerning Sign Systems*, Tartu, 1973, p. 288 (in Russian).

4 Listova, N. M.: *Food in Rituals and Customs—Kalendar Traditions and Rites in European Countries*, Moscow, 1983, p. 162 (in Russian).

5 Caland, W.: *Altindischer Ahnencult (Śrāddha)*, L. 1893; Shastri, D. R.: *Origin and Development of the Ancestor Worship in India*, Calcutta, 1963.

6 *The Laws of Manu*. Moscow, 1960, p. 60-79 (further—*Manu*).

it served to a greater extent, as compared to the other *piṇḍas*, for worshipping the forefathers. The third ball was devoted to the skies (to the Upper world) and was connected with worshipping *pitars* as the embodiment of the Sun. After *piṇḍa* offering there was a process of treating and giving presents to *brāhmaṇas*, who were considered to be the embodiment of gods and at the same time the personification of the sacrificial fire and "substitutes" of the defunct forefathers. This identification of *brāhmaṇas* with forefathers resembles Slavonic idea of paupers as representatives of the world of the dead. Treating and giving presents during the *śrāddha* are analogous to the custom of giving alms or treating beggars. In Russia beggars were considered to be "substitutes" of the defunct persons, the forefathers. To invite and give them food to eat meant giving food to the souls of the defunct persons, that were considered to be the guardians of the family, able to effect the harvest and cattle-breeding. It was believed that everything given to the beggars went to forefathers. Such is the meaning of the custom of giving alms. There is, however, a crucial difference: in India during *śrāddha* the blind, the lame, representatives of the low society were not allowed to be present (*Manu* III, 242), that is, those people who were considered to be deputies of the forefathers among Slavonic people.⁷

After *śrāddha*, left-over *piṇḍas* were given to "a cow, a *brāhmaṇa* or to the fire,"—sometimes they were given to birds or were thrown into water. The remainders of treatment were thrown around on the sacred grass for non-devout forefathers to eat.

This ritual is often compared to the ceremony of reception of a guest of honour and the ritual itself was considered to be the treatment of the forefathers. Such ceremony has many analogies among different peoples, Russian as well. Russian funeral repast, like *śrāddha*, took place in the open air, in the forest⁸ For their defunct relatives people laid the table with various treatments. It is interesting to note that Russian sinners, like Indian ones, were devoid of common treatment: their food was placed under the table, or if the ceremony took place in the house the food was thrown out of the door. Special requirements were obligatory as for the quality and composition of sacrificial food. It should be of special sort, hot (united with fire) and by all means clean. All this testifies to the great magic significance of the food in the given ritual.

In ritual texts, dating earlier than the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* the idea of food is associated with complicated cosmological notions. In the Upaniṣads, food is

7 Vinogradova, A. N.: *Winter Calendar Poetry of Western and Eastern Slaves*, Moscow, 1982, p. 144-148.

8 Zelenin, D. K.: *Russian Mythology Essays*, Issue I, Petersburg, 1916, p. 3-4, 252 (in Russian).

called the prime being; it is presented as the original substance and the whole world is the result of self-development of the substance (*TL* II, 2, 1).⁹

Food is to a certain extent a symbol of non-manifested coming into existence and dying nature, which is similar to the notion of "*Prakṛti*". Under such interpretation the emergence of the world is the emergence of food; death, non-being, are the absence of food: "At first there was nothing. Everything was wrapped in death or hunger, for hunger is death". Later, the hunger creates a world for himself in the form of food.¹⁰ Food in the world is everything that is subject to coming into existence and to disappearance, to birth and death. All that explains the meaning of food in the memorial ritual.

Speaking in terms of essence of various phenomena (for example the essence of thunder is sound, the essence of water is heat, etc.) food is always called the essence of the reborn and the waning moon. The moon is often associated with a mouth, which devours living beings after their death.¹¹ The moon was believed to devour food while growing during the first half of the month; when it is diminishing, everything that was devoured is being born again. The devoured food becomes rain, that while coming down "is born again as a worm or an insect or fish, or a bird, etc. or a human being... according to previous deeds, according to knowledge" (*KauR* I, 2).

These notions make clear such things that sacrifices to forefathers were made during the dark part of the month, when the moon was diminishing, that is, according to the belief, was releasing living beings. Eating the sacrificial food at that time, dedicated to one's great-grandfather, grandfather and father, the priest became the bearer of their selves. That is why during *śrāddha* the priests were honoured as if they were the forefathers themselves.

The path of forefathers unlike that of gods is called "the path of matter", as food was considered to be certain original matter. In Upaniṣads everything connected with worshipping of forefathers is considered to be "matter", for example, the best suitable time for making sacrifices, the period of the year, when days are becoming shorter and shorter, the dark part of the month, the night.¹²

9 *Taittirīya upanīṣad*, Publ. et trad. par Em. Lesimple, Paris, 1948 (Les upanishad, texte et traduction sous la direction de L. Renou, IX).

10 *BS*, II, 2, 1-6. — *Brhad-aranyaka-upanishad*, trad. et annot'ee par E. Senart, Paris, 1934.

11 *KauR* I, 9. — *Kausitaki upanishad*, Publ. et trad. par L. Renou, Paris, 1948 (Les upanishad... VI).

12 *PBs* I, 12-13. — *Praśna upanīṣad*, Publ. et trad. par J. Bousquet, Paris, 1948 (Les upanishad... VIII).

Such notion that prime being (*Puruṣa*) creates the universe, developing inside himself sacrificial food (*BS II, 5, 2*) also has analogy to ritual of food sacrificing. *Puruṣa* is the subject who devours, food (like *Prakṛti*) is something that is devoured.¹³ Thus, devouring food during *śrāddha* expresses to a certain extent the idea of conception, the beginning of a new life, reincarnation.

All this corresponds to the notion of head giving birth, a mouth giving birth, where biting food means conception, spitting out of the mouth means giving birth.¹⁴

The *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* is based on the Middle Ages' world outlook. At this time the notion of sacrificial food was understood differently, but again it is associated with a new birth. The necessity to perform *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas* is explained by the fact that the defunct person cannot be born again and thus continues his existence in case the relatives do not perform a series of sacrifices; but not by the fact that *piṇḍas* and food are identical to prime matter.

The first nine *śrāddhas* compose a new body of the defunct person (*preta*), each sacrifice corresponding to a certain part of the body: "On the first day the head appears from the *piṇḍa*, on the second—the neck and the throat, on the third appears the heart. On the sixth and the seventh days the waist and the sacred organs are created. On the eighth—the hips, on the ninth—knees and feet" (*UttKh V, 68-1*). At the basis of the symbolic group of nine sacrifices there lies the image of the vedic first being—*Puruṣa*, whose parts of body form the universe. The nine *piṇḍas* are symbolic substitutes of the defunct and express the idea of life of the defunct as a sacrifice. A man "lives as long, as he lives. When he dies, he is brought to the funeral fire. . . The gods offer the man as a sacrifice in the fire. Out of it there arises a man, covered in radiance. . ." (*BS III. IV, 2, 13-14*). According to the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* the number of the days, during which a new body is formed corresponds to the nine lunar months of forming a human body. On the tenth day it is recommended to sacrifice *piṇḍa* made of meat, for the new body becomes very hungry. As the hunger is not satisfied, two more sacrifices should be made on the 11-th and 12-th days (*UttKh V, 71-73*).

It is interesting to note that both during the death of members of the family and during a birth of a child the period of ritual dirtiness is the same, of ten days.

13 *ME VI, 10.*—*Maitry upaniṣad*, Publ. et trad. par M-lle Esnoul, Paris, 1952 (Les upaniṣad. . . VIII).

14 Nikitina, M. I.: *Ancient Korean Poetry in Connection with Rituals and Myths*, Moscow, 1982, p. 295; Toporov, V. N.: *Space and Text : Semantics and Structure*, Moscow, 1983, p. 253 (in Russian).

The child was given a name on the 10th or the 12th day,¹⁵ which corresponds to the notion that it takes 12 days for a new body of the defunct to be born again (the first nine days) and to satisfy its hunger (10-12th days).

According to the *Garuḍa-purāṇa śrāddhas* can be performed not only during nine days, but also every month during a year (*UttKh V*). At the end of the year *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas* are concluded with the ritual of *sapiṇḍikarāṇa*—that is the unification of *preta* with forefathers. At that time four vessels with water and sesame are sacrificed, three of which are dedicated to three male forefathers and one is dedicated to the *preta*. During the ritual the content of the vessel dedicated to the *preta* is poured into the vessels dedicated to the forefathers. At this time the words: “They are equal” are pronounced. By this action the defunct is as if put in the place of his late father, and his son is put in his own place. Up to the moment the defunct should exist in the form of *preta*. Being the *preta*, the defunct suffers hunger and thirst. He can get rid of this condition only a year later, after his relatives have performed all memorial sacrifices. Every month the *preta* goes through a certain town of death, the *śrāddha* of the month helps him to do it—it gives him strength to go through a town and leave it (*UttKh VI*). Thus, performing *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas* symbolized a birth of a new body and at the same time the path covered during the year. This part of the ritual expresses the notion characteristic to several peoples, associating a cycle of a year with a human life.

In the *Kauṣītaka-upaniṣad* we come across still more archaic variant of identification of a year with a man. Answering the moon’s question “Who are you?” he answers: “I was born and again I was born as 12 month or 13 month old to a father of 12 or 13 month old. . . . Oh, seasons of the year, bring me to immortality. By this truth, by this selfless devotion I am a season of the year. I descended from a season of the year. . . . “Who are you?”—[the moon asks him]. “I am you”, [he answers, and the moon] lets him go (*KauR I, 2*). In this extract we see that the defunct is a son of the year 12 or 13 month old father at the same time being a year and simultaneously being the moon, which was considered to be a symbol of a life’s cycle.¹⁶

The notion of integrity and completion was connected with a year, because it embraces the major cosmic laws, the laws of the reviving and dying nature and

15 A. Wayman, *Studies in Yama and Mara*,—*Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. 3, L., 1959, p. 63 (about Indoeuropean Concept of a ten month year—the period of ripening of human embryo).

16 About connection of the theory of death and the theory of revival with year and lunar cycles see : Eliade M.: *Traité d'histoire des religions*, Paris, 1949, p. 142.

cyclically repeating calendar rituals as well. The body of *Puruṣa* combining cosmic categories, various classes of animals and main castes was considered to be an equivalent of integrity. This served as a basis of identifying a year with "the cosmic body".

There is an association of Yama, the king of the dead, who once was considered to be the bearer of *ṛta* (the law, the truth, the order) with the year; that is the embodiment of cosmic laws of death and revival. In this connection the studies made by A. Wayman are worth our attention. He is interested in the connection of figure 13 with Yama. Yama had 13 wives who were the daughters of Dakṣa. They were often identified with *nakṣatras* (constellations through which the moon passes, lunar mansions). In all, there are 27 constellations, of which 14 are considered to be the *nakṣatras* of gods (*deva-nakṣatra*), 13 are considered to be the *nakṣatras* of Yama (*Yama-nakṣatra*). A. Wayman noted that the dark half of the month and the light one had a certain constellation as a symbol, so Yama's 13 wives corresponded to 13 dark halves of the month and which was connected with the cult of dead from the ancient time.¹⁷

Moreover, Yama is the embodiment not only of the notion of a year. In the old tradition he is a rather complicated mythological image connected with some features of time. He is the embodiment of the dark part of the year, that is "the half of the diminishing sun" (*Manu*, III, 276); 13 dark halves of the months, when the moon is diminishing; the afternoon, when the sun is going to the West; night, when it is dark as opposed to the daytime. In due course Yama began associating rather with the laws of revival and death of living beings than with cosmic laws. It leads to the identification of Yama not with 13 but with 10 lunar months, that is the period of time necessary for a woman to bear her child.¹⁸ The connection of a year (that is time) with the idea of death and revival produces the possibility to identify such originally different gods as Kāla and Yama.

In the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* there are only echoes of these complicated mythological ideas. They are expressed in performing the ritual of *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha* in dark halves of the months during the year. The idea of this recommendation is, however, lost. The time of sacrifices is explained by the fact that a *preta* goes to certain town of death each half of the month. The first town that a *preta* visits is the town of Yama where the *Puṣpabhadra* river flows and where there is a beautiful tree, called *Nyagrodha*. This town corresponds to the first *śrāddha*. Then the *preta* goes to *Saurīpura* (the town of the son of the Sun). On the third month the *preta* goes to *Gandharvanagara* (the town of *gandharvas*). On the fourth he goes to *Śailāgama* (the town to which one has to go by a stony road).

17 Wayman, A., *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

18 *Ibid.*

On the fifth month it is *Krūrapura* (the town of cruelty), then it is the town of *Krauñca* (from “ *Kruñca* ”—a curlew). On the sixth month the *preta* enjoys a *piṇḡa* in *Citranaḡara*, where king *Vicitra* rules. Then thousands of fishermen help the *preta* to cross the river *Vaitaraṇī*. On the seventh month the *preta* reaches the town *Baddhapāda* (from “ *bandh* ” to tie). Then the *preta* suffers in *Duḡkhada* (the town of suffering), meets beings screaming of pain in *Nānākranda* (the town full of cries), then the *preta* goes to *Taptapura* (the town of heat) and *Raudrapura* (the town of Rudra). On the eleventh month there are pelting rains in *Payovarṣaṇa* (the town where there are pouring rains). On the twelfth month the *preta* suffers from cold in *Śītapura* (the place, where everything is frozen) (*UttKh* IV). Therefore, performing the *śrāddhas* of the 12 months is the imitation of *preta*’s wandering each part of his body corresponding to a definite town of death. The names of the towns point either at various natural phenomena—sun, rain, heat, frost, water, stones, or at different human states—fright, horror, suffering, pain. The parts of the *preta*’s body point at the same time, to a certain space position, for each town has a certain constellation as its symbol. Such description of the world of the dead is a modification of archaic notions of anthropomorphous Universe.

Full of detail the story of the path to the world of Yama goes back to a characteristic of many peoples’ notion of death as a path to the other world.¹⁹ As for the Indian tradition, the oldest description of “the path of the forefathers” can be found in the Upaniṣads. This description is the core of the basis of which there appeared rather detailed description of “the path of forefathers” in the *Garuḡa-Purāṇa*.

In the Upaniṣads “the path of the forefathers” is not still connected with the idea of reincarnation, as it is later, it only concerns the posthumous way of a man. In “*Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad*” it is described as follows: the dead “go into the smoke, from the smoke—into the night, from the night—into the dark part of the month, from the dark part of the month—into the six months, when the sun goes to the South, then—into the world of the forefathers, from the world of the forefathers they go into the moon. Having reached the moon they become food. There the gods devour them, like they [devour] the king Soma, [saying]: “Get bigger, get smaller.” When it goes through the gods, people get here into space, from space—into wind, from wind into rain, from rain—into earth. Reaching the earth, they become food. Then they are again sacrificed in the fire of a man, then they are born in the fire of a woman” (*BṢ* III. VI, 2, 16). In short, this path can be characterized as follows: smoke-night-the

¹⁹ See, for example: Chistyakov, V. A.: *Notions of the Way to the Other world in Russian Keening in 19-20 centuries,—Rites and Folklore*, Moscow, 1982, p. 114-127 (in Russian).

dark part of a month-the half a year of a diminishing sun-the moon-space-rain-earth-food-a man.

While comparing the above described series of transformations with the description of *śrāddha* ritual, the extent of its correlation to the ritual rules becomes apparent.

According to the *Laws of Manu*, it is best to perform the *śrāddha* during the second part of the month, that is, "during the days of the dark half of the month" (*Manu* III, 276). The most important for worshipping forefathers *aṣṭakas* (the eighth days after full moon) fell on the "half-year of diminishing sun" (*Manu* III, 273). "Smoke" in the way of forefathers is the smoke of funeral fire, as for the "night" and the "moon," especially waning one, it is associated, as it was shown above, with the notion of death. "Space" and "wind" correspond to the middle world, the mediator between earth and heaven. It is the path of the forefathers invited to *śrāddha* that they have to go. They, however move along the path not as real forefathers but in form of rain. In the *śrāddha* procedure this part of the path is realized in the libation of water. There is a detailed description of water sacrificing in the *Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra*.²⁰ The sacrificer pours water into three vessels made of metal, stone and clay, and saying the following formula: "You are blessed, divine, for protection" he throws seeds of sesame into the water (*ĀsvGrSū* IV 1, 10). With this action the essence of the forefathers is considered to enter the water. The water, called *arghya* is offered to the *brāhmaṇas* with the words: "Father, this is your *arghya*, grandfather, this is your *arghya*, great-grandfather, this is your *arghya*" (*ĀsvGrSū* IV, 1, 12). In symbolism of all peoples seed, containing in itself the embryo of the future life was associated with semen and was used in the rituals the aim of which was to promote fertility. Besides, in the Indian tradition water is often the symbol of male principles. Thus, offering water with sesame is not just treating thirsty forefathers, it is not just water for ablution, as it is interpreted in later tradition. Moreover, the forefathers were addressed mainly with an appeal to give children: "Come Oh, fathers, somaworthy, by secret ways walked by fathers, give us term of life and posterity" (*AV* XVIII, 4, 7). If the sacrificer wanted to have a son he moistened his face with water mixed with sesame (*ĀsvGrSū* IV, 7, 14). This fact also points at the association of *arghya* with fertility and with the notion of conception.

So, sacrificing water imitated transformation of the forefathers into rain and thus their return to the earth. In a more detailed description of this part of the way we read the following "... this world is fire. Earth is its fuel. Fire is

20 Stenzler, A. F.: *Āśvalāyana,—Indische Hausregel*, Leipzig, 1964.

smoke. Night is fire. Moon is coal. Stars are sparkles. In this fire the gods sacrifice rain. Out of this offering comes food" (*BS III, VI, 2, 11*). "Transformation of forefathers into food" and then sacrificing this food "in the fire of a man" resembles the procedure of feeding the *brāhmaṇas*, who in the *Laws of Manu* are called the embodiment of fire. This part of the ritual correlates with the following description, taken from the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad*: "... man is fire. His open mouth is his fuel. His breathing is smoke. His speech is fire. His eye is coal. His ear is sparkles. In this fire the gods sacrifice food. Out of this offering comes semen" (*BS III, VI, 2, 12*). In the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* the echoes of such notions are expressed in the way a new body of a dead person is "created", namely, with the help of food (*piṇḍas*). It keeps in line with the notion of food and drink, where eating and dividing into parts correspond to death and, at the same time, to birth, because "the body goes beyond its limits, it devours, tears the world to pieces, absorbs it, gets enriched and grows owing to it"²¹.

Though there is no direct evidence that the above mentioned piece from the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad* is connected with the procedure of *śrāddha*, we consider that the whole complex of notions included could be the basis of that ancient rite.

The *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, already formed in the Middle Ages, loses this complicated interpretation of the ritual, nevertheless the process of performing *śrāddha*, its form, remained the same. The *Garuḍa-purāṇa* gives very simplified explanation of the expediency of the ritual actions. The connection of *śrāddha* with offering of food and water leads to forming of the notion, according to which *pretas* are beings who are greatly suffering hunger and thirst and *śrāddha* was considered as a means of satisfying their hunger "out of pity and due to love" of their relatives. (*UttKh VI, 10*). "The path of forefathers" represented in the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad* as a series of changes, is described as an awful way, where "nobody is selling, nobody is buying things," where there is merciless sun, there is neither water nor vivifying shade of the trees (*UttKh XXIII, 7-8; VI, 8*). The *pretas* going this way are very sad, exhausted, always crying for the lost earthly joy and appealing to their descedants: "Be it my son, grandson or relative—is there anybody who can give me happiness?" (*UttKh, VI, 22-25*).

As it has been already noted, the total number of *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas* should be 16, the core of importance lies in this number, not in the type of the *śrāddhas* or in the time of their performance. Ancient Indian ritual researchers noted not once that this number played a very important role in the rites. J. Gonda pointed out that number 16(17) as well as number 12 had been a certain embodi-

21 Bakhtin, M. M.: *Francois Rabelais's Works and Folk Culture in the Middle Ages and in Renaissance Period*, Moscow, 1968, p. 381 (in Russian).

ment of integrity.²² This number is connected with the traditional notion of 16 parts of a sacrificial horse, which was especially important for *Āśvamedha*, the rite that appeared within the funeral ritual and which only later became independent.²³ V. S. Sementsov noted that during symbolic substitute of sacrificial horse they made 17 offerings of melted butter. According to him the number 16 and 17 are identical. The number 17 includes 16 parts, and the 17th part is the integration of these 16 parts.²⁴ Thus, it proves that 16 *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas* are the symbolic equivalent of the horse sacrifice, each part of the human body corresponding to a certain part of sacrificial animal. If we recollect the text of the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad*, where certain cosmic categories correspond to different parts of the horse, we can arrive at the conclusion that the parts of the human body correlate with the elements of the universe (*BS I. I, 1*).

The supposition that the body of a dead person could be identical with the body of a ritual animal finds its confirmation in the ancient ritual literature, in the *Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra* in particular (*ĀśvGrSū IV, 3, 20-27*) where before cremation it is recommended to arrange the parts of a sacrificial cow according to the parts of a dead person. The cow *Anustaraṇī* is to take the defunct across the river *Vaitaraṇī*, that blocks the way to the world of the forefathers. The likening of the defunct to a sacrificial animal is rooted in the archaic Indoeuropean notion of the world as pastures where the souls of the dead are being in the form of the cattle.²⁵

In the Upaniṣadas, a sacrificial horse is identical to *Prajāpati*, the primogenitor of the world, who builds a second body for himself in a form of a year. After the year passes he sacrifices himself to himself thus creating the world. This is the expression of ambivalency of the notions of death and birth, when death, the victim, the separating the body into elements turns to be the birth of a new body, which corresponds to the universe, and, thus, corresponds to immortality and vice versa. "So, they are two—the sacrificial fire and the horse sacrifice. And still, they are one god : the Death. He [who knows it] defeats the secondary death,

22 Gonda, J.: *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion*, Hague, 1965, p. 5.

23 Vyach, Vs. Ivanov : *The Problems of Reconstruction of the Common Indoeuropean Funeral Ritual and of Ritual Text,—Baltic-Slavonic Ethnic. Culture and Archaeological Antiquities, Funeral Ritual*, Moscow, 1985, p. 40-41 (in Russian).

24 Sementsov, V. S. : *The Problems of Interpretation of Brahmanic Prose*, Moscow, 1981, p. 53 (in Russian).

25 Toporov, V. N. : *Some Aspects of the Reconstruction of Indoeuropean Funeral Ritual,—Baltic-Slavonic Ethnic, Culture and Archaeological Antiquities*, p. 93.

the death does not reach him, it becomes his body, he becomes a single with those gods" (*BS I. I, 2, 7*).

To summarize all the above mentioned we can say, that at the basis of *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha*'s ritual there is a very complicated archaic model of the world including in itself the categories of death (victim) and birth. The model is increased to cosmic scales. In such a world space is inseparably linked with time, that in the ancient texts was presented as cyclic time.

In the *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, the text, created on the basis of the world outlook of the medieval society, this model of universe suffers considerable changes. The order of the universe ceases to be looked upon as the cosmic and ritual law. The notion of "*dharma*" begins to be treated as a social law. Forefathers' worshipping ritual that was of the family character in the ancient time now appears to be included in the system of Hinduism and plays a second role there. Yama, the king of the dead finds himself in the role of the supreme god Viṣṇu. In enumerating the things what the god Viṣṇu is in the society and in the universe, Yama is called an embodiment of god Viṣṇu among kings. With forming of the notion "*dharma*" as a social law Yama's functions as the king of *dharma* are changing. Yama loses his connection with the cycles of death and birth. He becomes an embodiment of a terrible chastising force, that punishes those deviating from religious and social duty, all those "who were not punished by the earthly kings" (*MatP CCXI, 6-10*).²⁶ "Making noise like a disastrous stormcloud, glittering like wet stones, . . . riding a buffalo . . ., holding an iron club, terrible, with a noose in hands, ugly, with red eyes" he rules the destinies (*UttKh V, 20-22*). He is surrounded by a lot of subjects who walk everywhere "hearing from great distance and recognizing", "seeing and noting" all sorts of things and who report everything to Yama (*UttKh VI, 47-48*). One of Yama's attendants Citragupta "never makes mistakes in counting good and evil deeds" (*UttKh XIII, 28-29*). The whole staff of various clerks: scribes, door-keepers, envoys, executioners, torturing sinners with special devices-helps Yama to punish the sinners (*UttKh XXIII, 33-39*). The former beautiful heavenly abode where Yama used to feast under a sacred fig-tree with other gods and *pitars* now remains an awful prison (*UttKh XXIII, 32-34*); the cosmic way to immortality turned into an awful road, where "nobody is selling, nobody is buying things".

Thus, there happens, to be a full desacralization of death, which ceases to be looked upon as sacrifice and as correlation of a man with the elements of the Universe. It is connected with decomposition of mythological consciousness. Human forefathers lose their authority. As it can be seen in the *Purāṇa*, the focus of attention in them is switched from *pitars*, the divine fathers into *pretas*,

²⁶ *Matsyapurāṇa*, Poona, 1907, p. 337.

filling everyone with disgust and fright. Worshipping of forefathers ceases to be honouring the primogenitors of the kin. It proves to be very useful for sermons, moralizations and lessons, that is, it starts to serve ideological purposes.

Though there still remain some echoes of the notions of the funeral ritual role in the fate of the defunct and of a year as a prototype of a human body, according to the *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, they are replaced by the notions that a new human body depends on the sum of good and bad actions, that is, it is the embodiment of a social image of a human being. Any deviation from the social laws leads to distortion of this new body. Sinners, turned to *pretas* have either beast's face, or an ugly body, or a drooping lip.

In view of a new understanding of the law of forefathers, worshipping is now associated not only with fulfilling necessary funeral rite, but also following *dharma* in general. Fulfilling religious, social and family duties by descendants helps their forefathers avoid suffering. In the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* we can read a folk etymology of the word "son" (*putra*). He is *putra* because he saves his father, taking him out of hell, which is called *Put* (*UttKh* XI, 38). A son should honour his parents in any case, be then sinners or virtuous, ugly or divine. Father, even being a *preta* is "a sovereign, creator, admonishing god" (*UttKh* XI, 34). If, however, in ancient times it was recommended to worship fathers as gods, as sons of the sun, who give life to their kin, in the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* the homily, concerning son's duty to worship fathers rather reminds advice how to get rid of the influence of unclean and ugly spirits. There was the notion that, like Russian house-spirit, *pretas*, are quiet only in those houses where they get reverence, where there is cleanness and peace. *Pretas* remove adversity, have good effect on the birth of children and offspring of the cattle.

In the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* together with decomposition of mythological concept of the world also changes the character of narration. If in the ancient ritual texts there was interconnection of different notions (time-space-man-horse-year-way-death-birth-victim) now there are boring classifications, lists, enumerations of sins, punishments, sufferings, towns of death, palaces of the towns etc.²⁷ Ambivalency of notions disappears: the *purāṇa* gives clear directions what should be done and what should not, what is a sin and what is virtue. The former whole-some Yama's image falls apart into quite a staff of employees who are under hierarchical command, who are in charge of fulfilling social laws. The heaven disintegrated into a system of hells; divine fathers give way to innumerable

27 About new interpretation of Mythological Texts in the process of disintegration of mythological consciousness see: Lotman, Yu. M. and Uspenski, B. A.: *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

kinds of *pretas*. There are even their classifications according to their image and the way they eat (they eat slime, vomiting etc.).

After removing the sphere of the ritual into social life such texts being in form of monotonous lists and enumerations, having didactical tint are used in religious practice as a basis for meditations. Their recitation sometimes substitutes following *dharma* in real life. It leads to the fact, that in order to expiate sin, to protect themselves against *pretas*, to get rid of posthumous suffering it appears to be sufficient just to listen to or to read the corresponding didactical texts, organized in a special way (*UttKh* XI, 40; XII, 72).

Having such "cosmic" role of moralizations the path of the death that once used to be the continuous round of transformations now in the *Garuda-purāṇa* is presented as an embodiment of endless sermons where descriptions of violations/fulfilments of *dharma* alternate with descriptions of following punishment/reward, and the whole universe is presented as a grandiose realization of a religious and social code of behaviour.

ARCHAEOMETALLURGICAL STUDIES OF TWO METALLIC OBJECTS FROM NEOLITHIC-CHALCOLITHIC PHASE OF SENUWAR

By

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BIRENDRA PRATAP SINGH†

The site of Senuwar (Lat $24^{\circ} 55'N$, long $83^{\circ} 56'E$) in district Rohtas, Bihar, is located 7 km. south of Sasaram and situated on the right bank of the river Kudra. Excavation at Senuwar has revealed four cultural periods. Periods II, III and IV belong to the Chalcolithic NBPW and Kushan period respectively. The earliest period I, which marks the fully developed stage of the Neolithic Culture, shows two sub-periods IA and IB. IA is metal free and it can be regarded as pure Neolithic, while in IB all the basic cultural traits of the preceding sub-period IA continues with the addition of metal and thus has been regarded as Neolithic-Chalcolithic. This was marked by the presence of copper and solitary fragmentary piece of a lead rod. The occurrence of the former was noted from the earliest level of IB, while the latter was noted towards the closing phase. The copper objects included a fish-hook a needle (?), a wire and an indeterminate object. Sub-period IB is important for the present study as two metallic objects have been taken for investigation.

The radio—carbon dates available from the lower layers of Neolithic—Chalcolithic phase reading 1770 ± 120 and $1500 \text{ BC} \pm 110$ may be taken into account. The importance of these metal objects lies in the fact that their occurrence to such an early date has been noted for the first time in this part of the country.

The present investigations incorporate the metallurgical and Chemical studies of two significant metallic objects:

(A) A copper wire, Reg. No. 421

(B) A small bit of lead rod, Reg. No. 162

The idea behind this analysis was to identify the nature of metallic constituents of the two artifacts. For the copper object it was also desired to know the manufacturing technique, nature of the mineral used to explore the

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metal and if possible to locate the mine wherefrom the ore was obtained. From the second mentioned object only a small bit was removed and due to paucity of sample the aim was restricted only to identify the metal or the nature of alloying—if any

(A) The first object under the present study is a small copper wire recovered from trench 2D, depth 470-496 cm layer no. (10), Reg. No. 421. The wire has a diameter of 0.95 mm and a length of 11 mm. This thin wire further contains a thick patina all round—which is basically made of sulphate, chloride and hydrated oxides of copper.

(B) The second object is a fragmentary lead rod rectangular in section recovered from trench 2B, 160-172 cm layer no. (4), Reg. No. 162. It is found in extracorroded dark condition. Only a small bit of the metal was taken from this artifact for chemical analysis only.

Chemical Analysis :

The chemical analysis of the object have been done with the Hilger Watts Emission Spectrograph, with R.U. standard, within a selective wavelength of 2700-4400 Å°. The semiquantitative analysis of the major elements have been shown in the following table-I. The table-II indicates the trace elements present in them.

TABLE-I

Elements		% composition of A	% composition of B
Silver	Ag	0.05	0.20
Iron	Fe	0.01	0.01
Arsenic	As	0.005	0.005
Antimony	Sb	0.10	—
Lead	Pb	0.05	base
Nickel	Ni	0.05	—
Silicon	Si	0.50	0.10
Magnesium	Mg	0.10	0.10
Copper	Cu	base	0.20
Zinc	Zn	0.05	—
Tin	Sn	—	0.002

From the present analysis as shown in Table—I the wire was made of copper and is almost pure copper without any alloying. Considering other elements present in this object purity comes to around 99%, however, neglecting the presence of oxygen and sulphur in the metal. Applying Friedman et. al. (1966) technique probability of the native copper, oxidised ores and reduced

type ores are respectively 24.1, 62.1 and 13.8. From this findings the most probable use of malachite ore is established.

TABLE-II
Presence of trace elements in the specimens

	Ag	Fe	As	Sb	Pb	Bi	Cu	Sn	Ni	Zn	Mn	Co
421	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	—	—
162	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	—	—	—	—
	Au	Al	Cr	Mo	Zr	W	Ti	Mg	V	Gd	P	Si
	nt	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	nt	nt	+
	nt	+	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	nt	nt	+

+ : Present

— : Absent

nt : Not tried

To identify the source of copper under investigations made it a bit complex. So far four standard analysis of copper ores from Bihar are available (Agrawal et. al. 1978). Amongst those studies P-56, P-57, P-58 and P-188 represent the reduced type ores. Senuwar copper has similarities with Rakha ores with reference to the common presence of silver, zinc, nickel, molybdenum, magnesium and lead and common absence of bismuth, gold, zirconium, tungsten and titanium. At the same time arsenic and tin do not coincide each other. The present knowledge is inadequate regarding early mining activities in this zone in c. 1800 BC. Also definite information on the oxidised ores are not available. However, there is some chance for getting ore from Rakha mines but definitely not from Singbhum chalcopyrite (P-188).

The specimen B is basically lead and it may be concluded from the present study for the high amount of silver (0.20%) the original ore, perhaps was argentiferous galena. Small pockets of galena are known from various areas of Chotanagpur and Phaga of Bhagalpur. For correct identification of source for lead perhaps only one published paper is available for Indian lead mines which has conducted the detailed studies on the lead isotope ratio. (Balasubrahmanyam and Chandi 1976). Since the specimen was extremely small in quantity lead isotope analysis could not be carried for the specimen under the present studies.

Metallography of the specimen A:

A portion of the wire was mounted on the plastic mount. After polishing with emery paper of increasing fineness and finally polishing with diamond cloth the polished specimen was observed through microscope. Before etching inclusions were noticed which mostly of $\text{Cu} - \text{Cu}_2\text{O}$. Presence of moderately high

inclusions indicate improper poling. The inclusions were further elongated in a particular direction representing its orientations of working (i.e. forging). After etching with FeCl_3 , NH_4OH and H_2O_2 further observations were carried on. Considerable difficulties were faced to reveal the microstructure of the specimen. Microstructure indicated that the specimen was in single phase. Total absence of dendritic cast structure whereas polygonal twin structures were revealed. This structure indicated that the wire had been made by forging from a larger piece of metal. The working was initially carried in cold condition and annealing was perhaps performed afterwards. Unfortunately very clear structure could not been revealed.

The present analytical studies of these two specimens have significant role in the background of the neolithic society of the Eastern India. Copper is also known from other neolithic site of Chirand but no such analysis has been conducted so far. The metal was probably manufactured at Senuwar or nearby though the remains of furnace or copper slag are not yet recovered.

Regarding the occurrence of lead in other neolithic-chalcolithic sites in Eastern India no published material is available. It is desired to have an indepth multidisciplinary studies to each and every objects found in this region.

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1. Agrawal, D. P., R. V. Krishnamurthy and Sheela Kusumgar (1978), "New data on the copper hoards and Daimabad bronzes," *Man & Environment*, 2 : 41-46.
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3. Balasubrahmanyam, M. N. and Chandi, K. C. *Records of the Geological Survey of India* 107 (2) : 141-148.
4. *Indian Archaeology* 1971-72 A Review, p. 6. The occurrence of a fragmentary Copper bangle in the Neolithic assemblage has been reported in phase IB.

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POSITION OF WOMEN AS REFLECTED IN SĀNCI STŪPA INSCRIPTIONS

By

J. A. KHAN*

Ancient literature of our country, both general and legal, lacks unanimity of views regarding the question of status of women in society. Reformers of various ages have sincerely striven to confer on them a definite position in life, but in spite of their honest endeavours it remained a baffling problem to adjust theories with practice. Manu, one of our chief authorities on this subject, is also a glaring example of inconsistency on the matter. It is axiomatic from the attitude of Manu that he could never cherish the idea of women enjoying an independent status in life. According to him a woman has to lead a life of dependence throughout her life, seeking protection either of her father, husband or son.¹ He further says, "By a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house."² In *Mahābhārata* we come across quite a number of maxims which suggest that women were never considered fit for acquiring independence. It is stated in one place, that a woman should never be independent, she should be protected in childhood by her father, in her youth she should live under the protection of her husband and in her old age her sons should look after her.³ Early *Dharmasūtra*-writers, Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha harp on the same notion. Baudhāyana says that a woman is never fit for independence,⁴ and to confirm his statement he quotes a Vedic passage which declares that women were considered to be destitute of strength and power.⁵ But Colebrook asserts that this verse is confusing and

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1 Bühler, G.: *Manumṛti*, Eng. Trans., Sacred Books of East, Vol. XXV, Oxford, 1886, V. 148.

2 *Ibid.*, V. 147.

3 *Mahābhārata*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1927-66, Anu. Parva. 46.14.

4 Bühler, G.: *Dharmasūtras* (Āpastamba, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, Baudhāyana etc.)—Eng. Trans. Sacred Books of East, Pt. I. & Pt. II, Oxford, 1879, *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* II.2.3, 45.

5 *Ibid.*, II.2.3 46,

spurious because the manuscripts differ in their wordings.⁶ Vasiṣṭha like his predecessors, enjoins complete dependence of women and according to him, "a woman is not independent, the males are her masters."⁷

Expanding the wicked nature of women Manu says, "it is the nature of women to seduce men in this (world); for that reason be never unguarded in the company of females."⁸ For women are able to lead astray in (this) world not only a fool, but even a learned man, and (to make) him a slave of desire and anger. One should not sit in a lonely place with one's mother, sister or daughter; for the senses are powerful and master even a learned man.⁹ Bhīṣma quoted the conversation between Nārada and Pañcacūdā, a nymph, in order to describe the nature of woman. She told him: 'God created women with all kinds of vices and they were the worst possible sinners. They were so deadly that death, hell, snakes etc. all combined stood on one side and women on the other. They were falsehood incarnate without the knowledge of Śāstras or control of their senses, and were obsessed with ornaments, dresses, food and drink, etc.¹⁰ Lakṣmaṇa, when unjustly rebuked by Sītā for not paying attention to the false alarm raised by Mārīca imitating the voice of Rāma, declared distressfully that women were impious, inconsistent, cruel by nature and that they alienated people.¹¹ According to *Mahābhārata*, the vices and faults of women were so numerous that a man would find it inadequate even if he had one hundred tongues, lived for one hundred years and did nothing else but narrate all of them.¹² Manu allotted to women a love of (their) bed, (of their) seat and (of) ornaments, impure desires, wrath, dishonesty, malice and bad conduct.¹³ In the *Rgveda*, it is stated that women were fickle-minded and uncontrollable.¹⁴ Legend had it that in bygone days women attained divinity by their virtuous deeds and thereby threatened the existence of the gods. This compelled Brahmā to spread vices among them in order to make heaven secure for the gods alone. In consequence women were born with vices and led man astray.¹⁵

6 Cf. Mukerjee, S.: *Some Aspects of Social life in Ancient India*, Narayan Publishing House, Allahabad, 1976, p. 125.

7 *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*, V 1.

8 *Manu.*, II.213.

9 *Ibid.*, II, 215.

10 *Mahābhārata*, *Anu. parva*, Chapter 38.

11 Sen, M. L. : *The Rāmāyaṇa*, Firma KLM Private Ltd. (Reprint) Calcutta, 1976, p. 386.

12 *Mahābhārata*, XIII. 74, 8.

13 *Manu.*, IX. 17.

14 Griffith, R. T. H.: *Rgveda*, with Sāyaṇa's Com., ed. by M. Muller, Trans. in English, Benaras, 1896-97, X. 95. 15., VIII. 33. 17.

15 *Mahābhārata*, *Anu. parva*, 40, 5-10

Her primary duty was to look after the management of household affairs. It has been enjoined that she should regulate the expenditure of the family, should be careful in keeping the house and hearth clean and be economical in her habits. She must cheerfully and cleverly manage her family affairs.¹⁶ On the contrary ancient law-givers put every emphasis on the fact that women should be honoured and properly treated. Manu says, 'where women are honoured there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields any reward'.¹⁷ The same idea is found in *Mahābhārata*.¹⁸ Manu further says, that where female relations live in grief, that family wholly perishes, but where they are not unhappy that family ever prospers.¹⁹

Besides these admonitions, we sometimes find a curiously contradictory attitude. The very birth of a female child in the family was viewed with displeasure and concern. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we thus find an unwelcoming attitude towards a female child.²⁰ Opposite views have also been expressed. In the *Mahābhārata* it is stated that a child is same as one's own self and therefore, a daughter should be treated in the same manner as a son.²¹

Thus we find in the literary text that the ideal held up before a woman is to be submissive, dutiful and loyal wife totally dependent upon her husband. But the epigraphic records that we possess upto the Gupta period clearly contradict the literary position of women. We shall here mainly concentrate on the *Sāñcī Stūpa* inscriptions, since within the space of a paper we cannot incorporate the evidences of all the inscriptions of this period. *Sāñcī Stūpa* inscriptions highlight the economic, religious as well as the social status of women in the family.

We have quoted below a few inscriptions from *Sāñcī Stūpa* in which donations have been made by mothers.²²

"The gift of Dhamagirika's (Dharmagirika's) mother." No. 2=C. 4.

16 Chakladar, H. C.: *Social Life in Ancient India: Studies in Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra*, Bharatiya Publishing House, Delhi, Varanasi, 1976, p. 157; Manu, V. 150.

17 Manu., III. 56.

18 *Mahābhārata*, Anu. parva, 46, 5.

19 Manu., III. 57.

20 Griffith, R. T. H.: *Rāmāyaṇa*: Eng. Trans., Benaras, 1915, Uttara-kāṇḍa 9. 11.

21 *Mahābhārata*, Anu. parva., 45.11.

22 Bühler, G.: "Votive Inscriptions from the Stūpa at Sāñcī," in *Epigraphia Indica*. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1970, Vol. II, No. 7, p. 87, ff.
: "Further Votive Inscriptions from the Stūpa at Sāñcī II" in *Epigraphia Indica*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1970, Vol. II, No. 31, p. 366.

"The gift of Kurarī, the mother of Tāpasī." No. 39=C. 95.

"(The Gift) of the Vākalā queen, the mother of Ahimita (Ahimitra)." No. 127=C. 8.

"The gift of the mother of the venerable Rahila (?) the Saphineyaka." No. 137=C. 37.

"(The gift) of Kaniyasī, the mother of the Śeṭh." No. 167=C. 85.

"The gift of the mother of the nun Dhamayasā from Ujjain." No. 224.

"The gift of the nun Isidāsī (Ṛshidāsī), inhabitant of Kaḍa, mother of Sagharakhitā (Saṁgha)" Tope II; No. 29=C. 22.

The above references postulate the gift given by mothers, who have associated themselves either with their daughters or sons or with those sons and daughters who had become nuns and monks. Surprisingly they do not mention the names of their respective husbands and other family members as was the norms of patriarchal society. It is stated in the *Mahābhārata* that women could not perform any sacrifice independently of her husband.²³ Most of the legal authorities are strictly against the notion of women's participation in religious activities. Only Āpastamba is somewhat lenient in this matter.²⁴ Gautama, for instance, says that "a wife is not independent with regard to (the fulfilment of) the sacred law."²⁵ However, the inscriptional records we have thus recriminate the views of legal authorities. The mention of daughter or son in each case appears more to acquire a mark of identification than to associate them with religious act. The most interesting inscription is No. 29=C. 22, which illustrates the donation made by a nun Isidāsī, if the missing portion of the inscription would have been name of the place wherefrom she hailed, then it is unequivocal that a woman could become the nun after marriage, without caring much of her social responsibilities. This leads us to believe that a wife was as independent as a husband with regard to her religious donation and religious faith.

We have some inscriptions²⁶ at *Sāñcī Stūpa* which illustrate the relationship between husband and wife as well as between wife and other family members from her husband's side. To quote but a few :

"The gift of Soṇadevā (Suvaṇadevā) wife of Siharakhita (Simharakṣita)" No. 8=C. 14.

"The gift of Nāgā, the wife of the Śaṭh of Kaṁḍaḍigāma." No. 140=C. 45.

"The gift of Pusā, (Pusyā), wife of the Śeṭh of Kaṁḍaḍigāma." No. 141=C. 46.

23 *Mahābhārata*, Anu. parva, 46, 13.

24 *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, II.5.11.12.

25 *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, XVIII, 1.

26 Bühler, G. : *op. cit.*

“ The gift of Devabhāgā, wife of the Śeṭh of Kaṃḍaḍigāma. ” No. 237.

“ The gift of Dhañā (Dhanyā), wife of the brother of gahapati Paṭiṭhiya from Tubavana (Tumbavana). ” No. 265.

We have come across a curious account in No. 140=C. 45; No. 141=C. 42. and No. 237 where it is mentioned that Nāgā, Pusā and Devabhāgā were the wives of the Śeṭh of Kaṃḍaḍigāma. If the Śeṭh is the same person, we can infer from these inscriptions that polygamy was prevalent in those days in conformity with legal texts,²⁷ or it may be that one wife would have been followed by other in case of former's death, and the last presumption is divorce, which is also sanctioned by legal authorities. Thus Manu says, the husband has the right to discard his wife any moment she proves herself disagreeable to him.²⁸ More startling information is provided by No. 265 of *Sāñcī Stūpa*, where it is found that Dhanyā a donor, has associated herself with her husband indirectly by mentioning the name of her husband's brother first, who was a *gahapati* from Tumbavana. It is really difficult to understand the real purpose of Dhanyā. However, we suppose that the donor intended to have more social credit by referring the name of *gahapati*.

Some of the inscriptions from *Sāñcī* contain the gift either given by two sisters, or by brother and sister together.²⁹ These inscriptions no doubt point out to the fact that either they were asked by their parents to donate the money or they did it personally, for later case we have little difficulty in ascertaining that the brotherless daughters have absolute economic right in the family property. This is also supported by various ancient Indian literature.³⁰ However, the Dharmasāstra literature of this period precludes a sister any share in the patrimony, if she had brother. Kauṭilya also concurs with it.³¹ A general rule, however, has been laid down that brother should spend for his sister's marriage an amount equal to a one fourth share.³² But the inscriptions as have been mentioned below delineate that such sisters certainly have some economic right in

27 *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, II. 2,4,6; Ayangar, K. R. : *Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana*, trans., Lahore, 1921, IV-2.

28 *Manu*, IX. 81.

29 Bühler, G. : *op. cit.*

30 *Rgveda*, I. 124, 7;

Dauids, (Mrs.) Rhys: *Therīgāthā*, Eng. Trans., Pali text Society, London, 1909, No. 327.

Mahābhārata, XIII. 80, 11.

31 Shamasastri, R. : *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, Mysore, 1929, III. 6.

32 Gharpure, J. R. : *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, Eng. Trans., Bombay, 1936-44, II. 124, *Manusmṛti* IX. 118.

patrimony and thus refute literary sources. Some of those inscriptions are as follows :

“ The gift of Himadatā, sister of Upendradatta from Ujjain.” No. 156=C.63.

“ The gift of Budhā, sister of Upedadata from Ujjain.” No. 157=C.64.

“ The gift of Varadata, the gift of his sister Varasenā.” Nos. 321-22.

“ The gift of Subhagā and her sister.” No. 130=C.18.

Apart from these above mentioned inscriptions we have another kind of inscriptions which carry the donation of nuns and layworshippers.³³ A few of them are:

“ The gift of the nun Acalā, from Nādinagara (Nandinagara).” No. 6=C.14.

“ The gift of the nun Yakhī (Yakshī) from Vedisa (Vidiśā).” No. 38=C.93.

“ (The gift) of the female lay disciple Nāgā, from Tiriḍapada (Tiriḍapadra).” No. 50=C.111.

“ The gift of the female lay disciple Revā, inhabitant of Ujjain.” No. 121.

“ The pillar, the gift of the nun Oḍī.” No. 40=C.43, Tope II.

It is difficult to say how the nuns who had renounced everything could have finance to make the donations. Possibly before taking to monastic life they had some *Strīdhana* which might have been donated to the purposes mentioned in the records. The inscription No. 40=C.43 records a pillar donated by the nun Oḍī and thereby it conclusively proves, that the nun had substantial amount at her disposal to finance even for a big project.

There are a few specifications or titles given to certain monks and nuns, which are not without importance. Two terms of this kind, *Sutātikinī* or *Sūtātīkinī*, I. 79-80, “ A female reciter of the *Suttanta* or the *Sūtras*” and *dhamakāṭhika*, IC. 191, “ a reciter of the *Dhamma*” have been recognised by the earlier decipherers.³⁴ But, a third very interesting one, *Pacānekayika*, I. 66, has escaped detection.³⁵ *Pacānekayika* is a negligent spelling for *Pācānekāyika*,³⁶ which means “ one who knows the five *Nikāyas*”. The five *Nikāyas* are the five divisions of *Sutta Piṭaka*. Thus the above discussion makes us believe that women were not debarred from receiving education.

Very peculiar is the phrase 1.73 *Tapasiyānaṃ nusāya mitāya* ‘ of Mitā, the daughter-in-law of the *Tāpasīyas* ’.³⁷ The inscriptions I. C-58, C-59, C-67. of

33 Bühler, G.: *op. cit.*,

34 *Ibid.*, p. 93

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid.*

37 *Ibid.*, p. 94

which unfortunately no impressions are accessible, indicate that the *Tāpasīyas* were a family or tribe residing in Ujjain.³⁸ If *Mitā* is called the daughter-in-law of this community, that looks very much like a confirmation or practical illustration of a view regarding the legal position of married women mentioned as existing, but combated as objectionable by *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*.³⁹ He says, "For, they declare that a bride is given to the family (of her husband, and not to the husband alone)". Polyandry was in vogue in ancient period, many brothers would have a common wife and a group of men could be husbands to a group of women. The most well-known case is that of Draupadi, who was married to five Pāṇḍava brothers. *Kuṇḍalaka Jātaka* also refers to a polyandrous marriage of a princess named Kaṇhā.⁴⁰

It is seen that inscriptional records have not been rightly and adequately utilised for the study of woman's life in time gone by. Only they can help us in preparing the correct perspective to review her position and status in society which were never as bad as and as helpless as made out in literary sources. However, the above discussion on inscriptional records from *Sāñcī* leads us to believe that the women in the same period were quite independent in enjoying their various rights be it economic, religious or social. Thus we can assume that the women though dependent on their male relations owing to their less physical prowess to protect themselves at the time of crisis, were quite free to enjoy various rights necessary for self-upliftment.

38 *Ibid.*

39 *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, II. 10, 27, 3.

40 Francis, H. T. & Neil, R. A. : *Jātaka*, The Pali text Society, London, Vol. V., 1973, *Kuṇḍalaka Jātaka*, No. 536.

THE 'EARLIEST' SONG OF MĪRĀ (1503-1546)¹

By

WINAND M. CALLEWAERT*

If Mīrā died at the age of 43, it is remarkable that at the end of the 20th century there should be as many as 5,197 songs² with her name available. It has become a boring expression in studies about Mīrā that it is very difficult, if not impossible to decide which and how many songs are most probably by Mīrā. And yet, ever expanding collections go on appearing. In some editions the question of authenticity is solved on the basis of content, in others on the basis of language. Rarely do authors bother to look at the written material.

Of course, it remains a mystery why the written tradition, in the case of Mīrā, seems to have started so late (ca. 1800 AD), if we compare it with the *śpate* of manuscripts with *nirguṇa* material in Rajasthan, or *saguṇa* material in the Braj are from 1600 AD onwards. Why? Several reasons have been brought forward. The songs of Mīrā very soon became the (exclusive?) property of women in the home. Women did not scribe, as *sādhus* or (male) singers did. Or, the songs of Mīrā were scorned, to such an extent that they never became part of the standard repertoires of singers. We read in a letter of M.L. Menaria (Udaipur, July 1, 1938) to Purohit H. Śarmā, Jaipur:

"People here are not interested in Mīrā Bai as you and I are. Even the Maharana Sahib believes that Mira has been a black-blot on the fair page of the Mewar History and musicians are not allowed to sing the Padas of Mīrā Bai in the Palace. But this is only for your private information. Please do not make a mention of this anywhere in your book".³

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1 These dates are only indicative, because there is no evidence to support these or other dates. I copied them from Tivāri: 1974, p. 127 and p. 156.

2 See Tivāri: 1974, p. 124. Of these, 3,797 songs are supposed to be in Hindī, 817 in Gujarātī and 583 by Indirā Devī. During his Ph.D. research (1950-1962) Tivāri studied 4,614 songs attributed to Mīrā.

3 This letter is found in the correspondence of Śarmājī, preserved in the Vidyā Bhūṣaṇ Saṅgrah, Jaipur.

For a detailed description of this correspondence, see N. S. Bāṭī, 'Mīrā Prakaraṇa' in: *Paramparā* (Hindī), 1982, pp. 49-124.

With due respect for the oral traditions, my approach to the problem of authenticity has always been through the first manuscripts. Even if that approach, in the case of Mīrā, will not add much in terms of authentic songs, at least it can question the claims made in the numerous editions current now.

1. Mīrā in the Guru Grantha

Although scores of books and editions about Mīrā have appeared since 1900, little attention has been given to the song of Mīrā quoted in the Banno version of the *Guru Grantha*. I call it the 'earliest song' of Mīrā because there are reasons to believe that the date of the Dakor manuscript (1585 AD; see further) is not correct. The song of Mīrā is not found in the 'standard' version of the *Guru Grantha*, but only in the Banno version, which was (and still is) banned as dissident in orthodox Sikh circles. Pritam Singh gives a very good description of the 'earliest' Banno manuscript, preserved in Kanpur, and of which I was able to make a photographic copy in 1983. He writes:

According to Sikh tradition "Banno was deputed by Guru Arjan to get P 1 (the autograph) bound by some expert bookbinder of Lahore.

Banno's earnest request that he be allowed to have the honour of carrying P 1 to his village, was granted by the guru-compiler on the condition that he would not stay there for more than one night. Bhāi Banno was scrupulous in observing this condition, but manoeuvred frequent en-route halts, during which he put specially—recruited members of his retinue at work and got P 1 copied from one end to the other, before reaching Lahore. Both P 1 and B 1 (the first Banno copy) were got properly bound at Lahore and brought back. . ."⁴

What we remember here is that around 1604 AD there were songs with the *chāpa* of Mīrā in Panjab; from that repertoire one song was selected to be part of the Sikh repertoire, either in the original version compiled by Arjan himself, or in the (Banno) copy. In his article of 1903 Macauliffe remarks:

"Guru Arjan at first inserted one of Mīrā Bāi's hymns in his collection of the Sikh sacred writings, but subsequently drew his pen through it."⁵ It

4 See Pritam Singh, 'Bhāi Banno's copy of the Sikh Scripture', in: Monika Thiel-Horstmann, *Bhakti in Current Research, 1979-1982*, Berlin, 1983, p. 326.

The author further enumerates the specific differences between the Banno version and the standard Kartārpur text.

5 Srinivasachari, C. S. adds here: "...saying that though it was good, still its authoress lived and died an idolater." 'Mira Bai, the Saint of Rajputana,' in: *The Indian Review*, Oct. 1925, 715-720.

is preserved, however, in the Grantha of Bhāi Banno, which can be seen at Māngat in the Gujrat Dt. of the Panjab. The following is the hymn:

God hath entwined my soul, O mother,

With His attributes and I have sung of them.

The sharp arrow of His love hath pierced my body through and through,
O mother.

When it struck me I did not know it, now it cannot be endured, O mother.

Though I use charms, incantations, and drugs, the pain will not depart.
Is there any one who will treat me? Intense is the agony, O mother.

Thou, O God, art near; Thou art not distant; come quickly to meet me,
Saint Mira, the Lord, the mountain-wielder, who is compassionate, hath
quenched the fire of my body, O mother.

The lotus-eyed hath entwined my soul with the twine of his attributes."

I reproduce here first the Gurmukhi text of the Banno manuscript at Kanpur, folio 369, under *rāga mārū*. This is the last song under this *rāga*. It is preceded by 10 songs of Kabīra, 2 of Nāmdeva, 2 of Jaydeva and 2 of Raidāsa. I am very grateful to Prof. Pritam Singh, of Patiala, for the transcription into Devnāgarī, which now follows:

०मनु हमारो (हमारा) बांधिओ माई कवल नैन आपने गुन । रहाउ ॥

१तीखण तीर वेध सरीर दूरि गयो माई ।

लागिओ तब जानिओ नही अब न सहिओ जाई री माई ॥ १ ॥

रतंत मंत अउखद करउ तउ पीर न जाई ।

है कोऊ उपकारु करै कठिन दरदु माई री ॥ २ ॥

इनिकटि हउ तुम दूरि नही बगि (बेम) मिलहु आई ।

मीरां गिरधर सुआमी दैआल तान (तन) की तप (तपत) बुझाई री माई ॥

कवलनैन अपने गुन आपने तन बाधिओ माई ॥ ३ ॥

Perhaps the most surprising about this song is that it is *not* found in the Dakor manuscripts (see further), and hardly in any edition. I found it only in the edition of Purohit Hari Nārāyaṇ Śarmā (1944; Śekhāvat: 1967), where it has a specific reference to *Granthasāhib Gāivande kī bīd*. I give below the reading in Śarmā (song 368, on P. 174)⁶:

6 A similar reading, but without any reference, is found in Ānand Svarūp: 1957 (song 128, on p. 204).

मन हमारा बाँधो माई कैवल नैन अपने गुन ।
 तीखण तीर बेध शरीर दूरि गयो माई ।
 लाग्यो तब जान्यो नहीं अब न सह्यो जाई री माई ॥
 तंत मंत औषद करउ तऊ पीर न जाई ।
 है कोऊ उपकार करे कठिन रद री माई ॥
 निकटि हो तुम दूरि नहीं बेगि मिलो आई ।
 मीराँ गिरधर स्वामी दयाल तन की तपति बुझाई री माई ।
 (कैवल नैन आपने गुन बाँधो माई ।) ॥

Why does this song not appear anywhere else ? The numerous *nirguṇa* songs found in the Rājasthānī manuscripts and in the *Guru Grantha* justify the hypothesis that singers had quite a mixed repertoire when they travelled to and from Panjab. Mirā's song(s) were part of some repertoire. But if we find it written down in the *Guru Grantha*, why did it not Survive in the repertoires which were written down much later, from 1800 onwards, in Rajasthan and elsewhere ? The song deals with *viraha* and in the mammoth edition by Ānand Svarūp : 1957, we find 162 *viraha* songs of Mirā. This theme was certainly not unfamiliar to her.

2. The Earliest Manuscripts

For the present study I have looked at more than 100 books in Hindi, English, Gujarātī and Bengālī⁷ and I noted scores of titles of articles in different languages. It was my experience again⁸ that most authors copy from a few standard predecessors, adding often only fancy details without referring to sources. Critical editions have undergone the same fate: editions go on expanding, as authors copy from earlier editions and add songs from contemporary singers' repertoires. Very few bothered to look at the earliest manuscripts.

I list below the editions of the songs, with the date of publication, the number of songs of Mirā, the manuscripts or NS (no source) if there are no manuscript sources⁹ mentioned.

Vyās : 1842;	43 songs; NS
Rāmchandra: 1897;	20 songs; NS

7 Not all titles consulted are listed here.

8 See my study about the sources for Dādū in W. M. Callewaert, *The Sarvāṅgī of the Dādūpanthī Rajab*, Leuven and Delhi, 1978, p. 21-75 and about the sources for the biography of Nāmdeva, in W. M. Callewaert & M. Lath, *The Hindi Padāvalī of Nāmdeva*, Leuven and Delhi, 1989, pp. 21-44.

9 For more early manuscripts, see below under Śekhāvat: 1974c.

Desāi : 1897;	113 songs; NS
Āpte : 1908;	157 songs; NS
Belvedere : 1909 etc.;	38 to 167 songs; NS
Kālekar : 1922;	352 songs; NS
Narottam : 1930;	161 songs; NS
Caturvedī : 1932;	202 songs; NS
Misra : 1934;	126 to 217 songs; NS
Śrīvāstava : 1934;	139 songs; NS
Śrīvāstava : 1938;	209 songs; NS
Śarmā : 1944;	662 songs; NS
Jain : 1945;	176 songs; NS
Gahlot : 1945;	108 songs; NS
Brajratnadās : 1948;	506 songs; NS
Śarmā : 1949;	8 songs; 1638 AD 69 songs; 1585 (?) and 1748 AD. 34 songs; 1748 AD. ¹⁰
Majumdār : 1950;	185 (480) songs; NS
Prabhākar : 1951;	246+119 songs; NS
Padmāvatī : 1952;	590 songs; NS
Bhatnagar : 1952;	104 songs; (earliest 1822 A.D.)
Ānand Svarūp : 1957;	1312 songs; NS
Vishnu : 1958;	12 songs; ?
Bhātī : 1962;	242 songs; NS
Śekhāvat : 1967;	662 songs; see Śarmā : 1944
Śarmā : 1972;	301 songs; NS
Śalabh : 1972;	34 songs; (Nāhṭā); NS
Padmāvatī : 1973;	601 songs; NS, except for 6 songs from a manuscript of 1755 A.D.
Tivārī : 1974;	103 songs; NS
Śekhāvat : 1975;	405 songs; 236 manuscripts, of which 4 manuscripts of the 18th century A.D.

2a. The Dakor Manuscripts

Dakor, with the famous Raṇchoḍjī temple, is at a two hour busride from Baroda in Gujarat. In 1934 Lalit Prasād Sukul, of Calcutta, made a tour of Western India, in search of manuscripts¹¹. He had more success than Bhagvāndās Tivārī in 1960 and myself in 1988. He saw very old manuscripts, we did not. One manuscript, dated 1585 A.D., had 69 song of Mīrā which were also found

¹⁰ L. P. Sukul also refers to the Kāśī and Kānpur Mss. of 1670 AD.

¹¹ I draw my information from his detailed account in Śarmā : 1949, pp. 272f.

in later manuscripts (see further) and in later printed editions, albeit in different versions.

The second manuscript shown to Mr. Sukul in 1934 was dated 1748 A.D., and had 103 songs. The first 69 songs were identical with those in the first manuscript, although the language was "more Gujarātī".

According to Sukul's informant in Dakor, Mr. Bhatt, whose ancestors served in the temple, the manuscript Sukul saw was copied by Bhatt's ancestors in 1585 A.D. from the autograph. That autograph was written during Mira's life by her servant, a lady called Lalitā. No information is given about the autograph, but its copy was taken away "during the 17th century by some Muslim invader, along with all the treasures of the temple" (p. *chha*). It came back one day and Sukul was "given a copy" of the 69 *padas*. It is not clear, in Sukul's description, what happened to the 1585 A.D. copy of the autograph after that. Earlier, both manuscripts (1585 and 1748) had been copied by Mr. Bhatt (p. *gha*) and sent to Śyām Sundar Dās in Banaras. Mr. Sukul had seen that copy (of the manuscript of 1748) with S. S. Dās, at Banaras, some time before he came to Dakor. The copy of the older manuscript was then with Rāmchandra Śukla. Through the courtesy of Mr. Bhatt, a copy of both manuscripts was also given to Mr. Sukul (p. *aṅga*).

Where are all these copies now?

Several people have questioned the authenticity of the earliest Dakor manuscript, of which Sukul supposedly was given a copy, mainly on linguistic basis.¹² I have my misgivings because the date is so early. If we compare this manuscript with Bhakti literature in Rajasthan - nothing that early is found in Gujarat -, then it would be as early as the Fatehpur manuscript of the City Palace, Jaipur (1582 A.D.). That manuscript gives three repertoires with mainly the songs of Sūr. Like a thunder in a blue sky, how do we find in Dakor a manuscript with just one repertoire, and only of Mīrā? Even with the spate of scribing of Bhakti literature from 1600 A.D. onwards, we find no other complete repertoire of Mīrā written down until 1800 A.D. or later. It is quite likely that a repertoire with Mīrā's songs took shape during her life-time, but are there indications to believe that they were written down by a girl, a maidservant? Why was this manuscript preserved "and venerated" (*pūjā*, p. *chha*) in the Vallabhā temple of Dakor? Mīrā was not a Vallabhite, although tradition says that her songs were sung there.

I have compared these 103 songs with later versions in printed editions. It is interesting to note that, in the course of time; the number 103 increased to

12 See Śekhāvat : 1974c.

295.¹³ The songs are basically the same, but at times quite variant, as is shown in the example below. I quote song 8 in the Dakor manuscripts, and compare it with the version in printed editions. The different versions of basically the same song are clearly the result of the singers' creativity.

Dakor manuscript (1585 AD; Śarmā: 1949; p. -1-)

आली म्हाँणे लागां वृन्दावन णीकां ।

घर घर तुडसी ठाकर पूजां दरसन गोविंद जी कां ।

निरमड नीर ब्रह्मा जमणा कां भोजन दूध दह्यां कां ।

रतण सिंघासण आप विराज्यां मुगट धरयां तुडशी कां ॥

कुंजण कुंजण फिरयां सांवरा सबद सुण्या (सुण्या ?) मुरडी कां ।

मीराँ रे प्रभु गिरधर नागर भजण विना नर फीकां ॥

Song 1 in Ānand Svarūp : 1957, p. 575.¹⁴

आली म्हाँने लागे वृन्दावन नीको ॥

घर घर तुलसी ठाकुर पूजा । दरसन गोविंदजी को ॥ १ ॥

निरमल नीर ब्रहत जमनां में । भोजन दूध-दही को ॥ २ ॥

रतन-सिंघासण आप विराजे । मुगट धरयो तुलसी को ॥ ३ ॥

कुंजन-कुंजन फिरत राधिका । सबद सुणत मुरली को ॥ ४ ॥

मीराँ के प्रभु गिरधर नागर । भजन विना नर फीको ॥ ५ ॥

Song 235 in Ānand Svarūp : 1957, p. 658.¹⁵

वृन्दावन में तुलसी का ब्रिडला । जाके पान चरीको ॥ १ ॥

वृन्दावन में धेनु बहुत है । भोजन दूध दही को ॥ २ ॥

वृन्दावन में रास रच्यो है । नरसर कृष्णजी को ॥ ३ ॥

मीराँ के प्रभु गिरधर नागर । बिना रंग सब फीको ॥ ४ ॥

Song 243 in Ānand Svarūp : (1957), p. 661.¹⁶

13 See Tivārī : 1974b, pp. 127ff.

14 Section 8 : *Brajbhāva ke Pada*. Also found in *Padmāvatī* : 1952; song 497, p. 276.

15 Section 8 : *Brajbhāva ke Pada*.

16 Section 8 : *Brajbhāva ke Pada*. Also found in *Padmāvatī* : 1952; song 498, page 276.

उधो म्हांनै लगै बृन्दावन नीको रे ।
 बृन्दावन में धेनु बहुत हैं । भोजन दूध दही को रे ॥ १ ॥
 मोर मुकुट पीतांबर सोहैं । सिर केसर को टीको रे ॥ २ ॥
 घर घर में तुलसी को बिडलो । दरसण माधवजी को रे ॥ ३ ॥
 मीरों के प्रभु गिरधर नागर । हरी बिना सब फीको रे ॥ ४ ॥

Let us compare the following versions :

8 Dakor : 1585

1 Ānand Svarūp : 1957.

245 Ānand Svarūp : 1957.

253 Ānand Svarūp : 1957.

Except for *rādhikā* in 1 instead of *sāvarā* in 8 and the curious spelling *da* in 8 for *la* in 1, there are no major differences between these two versions of the same song.

The comparison between 1 on the one hand and 245 and 253 on the other is more rewarding. If, hypothetically, we accept 1 as the basic text, we note very interesting changes brought about by singers. We read *rādhā* in 245 and *uddhav* in 253, instead of *ālī* in 1. Several lines in 245 have nearly the same message as 1, but are worded differently. Songs 245 and 253, which are otherwise quite different, have an identical line (about the cows and the milk in *Vrindāban*), which is different in 1. Line 1 in song 1 becomes line 3 in 253, with *mādhav* instead of *govinda*. Noteworthy also is the *geya-vikāra re*, which is a filler added by a singer.

2b. Manuscripts of 1670 A.D.

Mr. Sukul further reports that he saw a manuscript in the N.P.S. Banaras and one in Kanpur which had the same set of songs, and were dated 1727 V.S. (1670 A.D.) Apparently this text is not available in printed form.

3. Selective Bibliography of Editions of the Songs of Mīrā

1842 K. Vyās Dev, *Saṅgita Rāga Kalpadruma*, Bangīy Sāhitya Paṛiṣad, Calcutta, (1842) 1914; gives 43 songs of Mīrā.

1893 K. P. Khatri, *Mīrābāī kī Jivānī*, Thakur Prasad & Sons, Calcutta, 1893.

1897 I. P. Rāmchandra, *Mīrābāī ke Bhajana*, Meerut 1897. Songs of Sūr, Narsī, Tulsī and 20 songs of Mīrā.

1897 I. S. Desāī, *Vrīhata Kāvya Dohana*, (Guj.), 10 vols; 7th ed. 1927; 113 songs.

1898 Munshi Deviprasad, *Mirābāi kī Jivana Caritra*, Bangīy Hindī Pariśad, Calcutta (1898), 1962.

1905 Munshi Deviprasād, *Mahilā Mṛḍuvāṇī*, Banaras, 1905.

1908 T. H. Āpte, *Gāthā Pañcaka*, Pune, 1908; repr. in 5 vols. by R. C. Dhere, Pune, 1983. In vol. 5, pp. 114-141, are given 157 songs of Mīrā. No sources.

1909 an., *Mirābāi kī Śabdāvalī*, Belvedere Press, Ilahabad, 38 songs; in the 1976 ed. 167 songs are given, with alphabetical index.

1922 G. Kālekar, *Mirābāi Bhajana Bhaṇḍāra*, 1922; 352 songs.

1930 Narottam Dās Svāmī, *Mirā Mandākini*, Un. Book Depot, Agra, V.S. 1987; 161 songs (along with songs of other poets); based on an unspecified " old manuscript." According to Śhekhāvatī: 1974c (p. 11) the editor has tried to make the songs conform to Rājasthānī.

1930 Viyogi Hari, *Mirābāi, Sahjōbāi Dayābāi kī Pada Saṅgraha*; Gāndhi Pustak Bhaṇḍār, Prayāg, 1930; gives 36 songs of Mīrā.

1931 Viyogi Hari, *Bhajana Saṅgraha*, Vol. III, gives 62 songs of Mīrā.

1932 P. Caturvedī, *Mirābāi kī Padāvalī*, Allahabad (1932), 17th ed., 1983.

The author gives 202 songs (pp. 99-158) with alphabetical index and a commentary on words. Caturvedī himself doubts the authenticity of the 202 songs he selected. The edition of 1972 gives a set of selected *pada* which is different from what Caturvedī gave in earlier editions. No manuscripts are referred to. In his Introduction the author points out that three kinds of *padas* are especially subject to questioning about authenticity :

- the songs which deal with the family quarrels,
- the songs which show a Santa influence,
- the songs which have a Yoga or Nātha connotation.

He does, however, incorporate

- dubious *padas* about Mīrā's family (p. 105-110; *padas* 27-38).
- a *pada* which says that Raidās is Mīrā's guru (*pada* 24; p. 104).
- Yogī connected *padas* : 115 (p. 57-58), 121 (p. 60), 127 (p. 88) etc.
- a Panjabi *pada* 165, p. 151.

English translation by Alston : 1980 and Pandey & Zide : 1964, and Hindi translation by Śambhusingh : 1969.

1934 B. Miśra ' Mādhava, *Mirā kī Prema Sādhnā*, (1934 : 126 songs); 2nd ed., 1946 : 216 songs; 3rd ed., 1957 : 217 songs.

1934 M. Śrīvāstava, *Mirābāi kī Kāvya, Sahitya Bhavan*, Prayāg, 1934; 139 songs, see further : 1956.

- 1934 Anāthanāth Basu, *Mira Bai. Saint and Singer of India*. London, 1934.
- 1935 Banke Behari, *The Story of Mira Bai*, Gorakhpur, 1935.
- 1938 V. Kumārī Śrīvāstav, *Mīrā Padāvalī*, Hindī Bhavan, Lahore, 1938;
- 201 songs 'taken from earlier publications'.
- 1944 P. H. Śarmā; see K. S. Śekhāvat : 1967.
- 1945 H. C. Jain, *Mīrā aur Unkī Premvāṇī*, 1945; 176 *padas*.
- 1945 M. Singh Gahlot, *Mīrā Jivnī aur Kāvya*, Banaras, 1945; the author gives 108 songs of Mīrā, "of which 40 were not published before", but no source is given.
- 1948 Shri Brajratnadās, *Mīrā Mādhurī*, Vārāṇasī, 1948, (2nd ed., 1967; 3rd ed., 1970); 506 songs. No reference to manuscripts.
- 1949 S. N. Śarmā and others, *Mīrā Smṛti Grantha*, Bangīy Hindī Pariṣad, Calcutta, 1949 (270, 20, 59 p.). On pp. 141-152 J. P. Gupta gives 8 "unpublished" *padas* of Mīrā. He found them in the (then Gujarātī Vernacular Society, now) Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, manuscript No. D 277 K, dated 1638 A.D. Four songs may have variant readings in other editions but songs, 2, 4, 5, 7 were, according to the author, then not printed anywhere else.
- On pp. 272ff. Lalit Prasād Sukul gives 69 songs based on the Dakor manuscripts (1585 A.D. and 1718 A.D.) and songs 70-103 based on the manuscript of 1748 A.D. 18 Articles.
- 1950 M. R. Majumdar, *Mīrābāī. Ek Manana*, (Guj.), Baroda, (1950), 1975; gives on pp. 253-34 a detailed chronological Table; on pp. 187-261 are given 185 songs (480 in later editions) under 8 headings, and on pp. 262-297 the *Mīrābāī kī Parcī*, (in 12 *viśrām* and 200 *dohe*). No written sources referred to.
- 1950 Padmāwatī Śabnam, *Mīrā. Ek Adhyayana*, Loksevak Prakāśan, Kāśī, 1950.
- 1950 Śrī Madhur, *Mīrānī Prem-Vāṇī*, (Guj.), 1950; 251 songs.
1951. .Indirā Devī, *Shrutanjali* (1951), *Premanjali* (1953, with reprints), *Sudhanjali* and *Vibhanjali* (1958, reprinted), *Deepanjali* and *Bhavanjali* (1960; reprinted), *Ushanjali* (1971), Hari Krishna, Mandir, Poona; give hundreds of songs attributed to Mīrā.
- 1951 K. Prabhākar & Bānke Bihārī, *Braj-chandra Cakorī Mīrā*, Vrindāban, 1951; 246 Hindī songs and 119 Gujarātī songs, with commentary. No sources given.
- 1951 Śrīkrishna Lāl, *Mīrābāī. Jivn-carit aur Ālocnā*, Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan, Prayāg, (1951, 1970), 3rd ed. 1972, 188p.
- 1952 Padmāwatī Śabnam, *Mīrā. Brihat Pada-Saṅgraha*, Kāśī, V.S. 2009; 590 songs, selected from earlier editions and from singers' repertoires. The

author rejects "as unauthentic the songs in which the quarrels of Mīrā with her family are referred to. This issue had become a popular item in the folklore and songs taking that up must be of a later date. On the other hand, those songs are most probably authentic in which the themes of the *līlā* of Krishna and of *viraha* are dealt with. Reason: that is what Nābhā mentions as Mīrā's specific quality and that is what made her popular. This should not prevent us from accepting also as possibly authentic the songs which deal with a Santa or Yogic theme. I have tried to bring together in one volume as many songs as I could find: published unpublished and from performers" (Introduction.)

See also Padmāvatī : 1973.

1952 U. S. Bhatnāgar, *Rājasthān me Hindī ke Hastlikhita grantho kī Khoja*, Vol. 3, Udaipur, 1952; on pp. 17f. are given 104 songs "from Udaipur", and in appendix the author gives 54 songs from different sources, one dated manuscript of 1822 A.D.

1956 M. Śrīvāstav, *Mīrā Darśana*, (1956), gives the 103 songs of the Dakor manuscripts, See above, 1934.

1957 Svāmī Ānand Svarūp, *Mīrā Sudhā Sindhu*, Śrī Mīrā Prakāśan Samiti, Bhīlwārā, 2014 V.S., 1312 songs; no sources given.

1958 Vishnu Kumari Manju, 'Bhakta Kavayitri Mīrā ke aprakāśit Pada', in : *Hindustānī*, 19, 4, 1958 A.D.; 12 songs.

1962 Deśrāj Singh Bhāṭī, *Mīrābāī aur Unkī Padāvalī*, Aśok Prakāśan, Nayī Sarak, Delhi, 1962; 4th ed.; 400 pp.; 242 songs with Hindī commentary and alphabetical first-line index. The author also gives variant versions, but does not mention any source.

1962 B. V. Trivedī, *Mīrānā Pado*, (Guj.), Bombay, (1962); 3rd ed., 1986; 252, 58, 103 Gujarātī songs, with alphabetical first-line index.

1965 L. S. Śaktāvat, *Mīrā Darśana*, 1965; (10th ed.); 151 songs, basically based on the Dakor manuscripts.

1967 Kalyāṇ Singh Śekhāvat, ed., *Mīrā Brihat Padāvalī*, Vol. I, Jodhpur, 1967. Vol. I gives 662 songs (with *rāg* and *tāl*) selected by Purohit Harinārāyaṇ Śarmā, and his Introduction (9 p.) of 1944. The songs are classified in the alphabetical order of the first line. There is no reference to the manuscripts, because there is no key to understand the abbreviations Śarmāji used (see Vol. II, Śekhāvat : 1975, p. 82f.). Apparently, he collected songs of Mīrā "from all over Rajasthan" (Introduction). For Vol. II, see 1975.

1969 M. Śambhusingh, *Mīrā Padāvalī*, Jaipur, 1969; on pp. 109-277 he gives 130 songs (= Caturvedī ed.), with commentary and Hindi translation.

1969 B. B. Trivedī, *Mīrābāī nām Vadhu Gujarātī Pada*, 1969.

1971 N. Sundaram, *Mirā aur Āṇḍāl kā Tulnātmaka Adhyayana*, (Ph.D. in Jabalpur Uni.), 1971; " my study is based on the 202 songs published by Caturvedī, " p. 72.

1972 Kṛiṣṇadev Śarmā, *Mirā Padāvalī*, 1972; pp. 165-382: commentary; text based on Narottam Dās, Bh. Miśra, Braj Ratnadās and *Mirā Smṛiti Granth*. Alphabetical first line index of 301 songs.

1972 G. Śalabh and others (eds.), *Mirā Smṛiti Granth*, Sāhitya Niketan, Ajmer, 1972; 27 articles without footnotes; on pp. 132-144: A. Nāhtā, Mīrābāī ke Aprakāśita Pada; 34 songs without reference to the source.

1973 Padmāvatī Śabnam, *Mirā. Vyaktitva aur Kṛititva* Hindi Pracārak Sansthān, 1973 A.D.; 601 songs, but without clear reference to sources. The norm for selecting Songs is odd:

" Those songs are more *prāmāṇika* which have not undergone the handling by singers. Most songs with the name of Mirā have undergone the influence of the *geya-paramparā*. The authenticity of these songs is doubtful. Those songs are probably more authentic which have an identical reading in all the manuscripts " (p. 404f.).

I argue that precisely those songs may be less reliable, because they may belong to just a single repertoire.

On pp. 430f., App. 1 : 6 songs based on a N.P.S. manuscript of 1755 A.D. See above, Padmāvatī: 1950 and 1952.

1974 Bhagvāndās Tivārī, *Mirā kī Bhakti aur Unki Kāvya-Sādhnā kā Anuśilana*, (Ph.D. Thesis, Sagar Un. 1963), Sāhitya Bhavan, Prayāg, 1974. The author refers to two manuscripts which also give the total of 103 songs as they are found in the Dakor and Kāśī manuscripts (see Śarmā: 1949); one is from Kāśī (1670 A.D.), the other from Kānpur (1670 A.D.).

1974b Bhagvāndās Tivārī, *Mirā kī Prāmāṇika Padāvalī*, Sāhitya Bhavan, Prayāg, 1974. The author discusses the different collections and gives (on pp. 127-272) the 103 songs of the Dakor manuscripts, alongwith variant versions in other editions.

1974c Kalyāṇ Singh Śekhāvat, *Mirābāī kā Jīvanvrit evam Kāvya*, Hindi Sāhitya Mandir, Rātānādā, Jodhpur, 1974.

This is a Ph.D. of 1969. In chapter 1 the author gives a survey of publications about Mirā, and a list of manuscripts. Of interest are manuscripts 9,259 and 12,577 in the Jodhpur collection, both of the 18th century VS.¹⁷

17 The date " 17th century VS " for manuscript 1667 in the Caupāsani collection (p. 32) is hopefully not a mistake. The author missed the following interesting manuscripts in the collection of the Jodhpur Oriental Institute;

He further doubts the authenticity of the songs found in the earliest Dakor manuscript (p. 27). For the edition of the songs, see Śekhāvat: 1975. 1974 Śaśi Prabhā, *Mīrā Kośa*, Ilahābād, 1974.

1975 Kalyān Singh Śekhāvat, ed., *Mīrā-Bṛhat-Padāvalī*, II (1975), Jodhpur. This volume gives 405 songs, of which 215 were not published earlier. Besides that set of 215 songs are given:

- 50 songs from a Rāga-rāgiṇī illustrated manuscript of the 19th century;
- 49 songs " which show great similarity with one of the 215 songs ";
- 42 " songs which are similar only in the first two-three lines ";
- 40 songs " which are similar in most lines except in one or two ";
- 9 songs " which are quite variant from a similar one in the set of 215."

The editor consulted a total of 236 manuscripts all over Rajasthan, mainly of the 19th century VS, with a few exceptions:

17th. VS (ca. 1700 AD?): 4 folios; Caupasani 1667;

1769 A.D. : 2 folios; Caupasani 4670;

1777 A.D. : 3 folios; Caupasani 7187-6;

1779 A.D. : 124 folios; Jodhpur 31077;

1980 L. Bhatnāgar, *Dharma Sampradāya aur Mīrā kā Bhakti Bhāva*, Delhi, 1980; 224 p.

1980 Rāj Nāgpāl, *Mīrābāī kī Padāvalī*, Delhi, 1980; in the second part is given a commentary on the songs edited by Caturvedī.

1981 Ushā Kiran Śarmā, *Mīrā kī Abhivyañjanā Śailī*, Ajmer, 1981; 355 p. : " I based my study on the Caturvedī edition because that has become a standard text-book in all universities. Further I refer also to the Jodhpur *Mīrā Bṛhat Padāvalī*" (1967 and 1975) (p. 11).

1982 Nilima Simha, *Mīrā. Eka Antaraṅga Paricaya*, Delhi, 1982; reprints the 103 songs of the Dakor manuscripts.

30,346 (1656 A.D.), colophon not confirmed; one song.

1,163 (1783 A.D.); fo. 32, 33, 35-39.

1,247 (18th century VS).

2,626 (1784 A.D.); fo. 849-850.

1,177 (18th century VS); fo. 202-203.

I have noted a 17th c. A.D. manuscript in a private collection in Jaipur (one song) and one in Vrindaban. A careful scrutiny of the hundreds of *Pada-Saṅgraha* manuscripts of the 17-18th centuries may be very rewarding. Of course, there are hundreds of manuscripts with songs of Mīrā, dated 19th century VS.

1984 N. S. Bhāṭī, ed., ' *Mīrābāī rī Parcī va Parcī Kāvya* ', in : *Paramparā*, 69-70, 1984, Caupasanī, 124 pp. Hindī edition of the biography of Mīrā by Sukh Sāraṇ.

4. English Translations

1901 U. N. Mukhopadhyay, *Mīrabāī of Udaipur*, Calcutta, 1901; with English and Bengali translation.

1903 M. Macauliffe, ' The Legend of Mira Bai, the Rajput Princess ', in : *Indian Antiquary*, 32 (1903), pp. 329-335. On p. 335, the author remarks in note 10 : " The hymns in this life of Mira Bai are taken from Raja Raghuraj Singh's Bhagat Mala ".

1923 M. MacNICOL, *Poems by Indian Women*, The Heritage of India Series, Calcutta, 1923; 10 songs in English are given on pp. 59-66.

1934 R. C. Tandon, *Songs of Mirabai*, Hindī. Mandir Allahabad, 1934; English translation of 50 songs of Mīrā.

1956 H. Goetz, ' *Mīrā Bāī, Her Life and Times* ' in : *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, vol. XVIII, April 1956, 2, pp. 87-113; (Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1966).

(n.d.) T. L. Vaswani, *Saint Mira*, Pune; a few songs in English; no sources given.

1961 Banke Behari, *Bhakta Mira*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. (1961), 2nd ed. 1971; gives 128 (later 184) songs; 80 songs are quoted from Prabhākar and Behārī : 1931; 112 songs in English translation; Hindī first line index.

1964 S. M. Pandey and N. Zide, *Poems of Mīrābāī*, Chicago, 1964; based on the 11th ed. of Caturvedī : 1932.

S. Kurl, *The Devotional Poems of Mīrābāī*, Calcutta, 1973; 50 songs in English translation.

1973 S. Eveland, ' Devotional songs of Mira Bai ', in : *Literature East and West*, 2-3-4, June-Dec. 1973, pp. 238-243. No sources given.

1975 P. Nandy, *The Songs of Mirabai*, Arnold-Heinemann, New Delhi, 1975; poetical translation of 50 songs. No source or reference given.

1977 B. Dhingra, *Songs of Meera. Lyrics in Ecstasy*, Orient paperbacks. New Delhi, 1977; 96 songs in English translation; no sources given.

1977 V. K. Sethi, ed., *Mira, the divine lover*, Soami Satsang Beas, 1979; poems of Mīrā on pp. 55-239: 97 songs in English translation based on *Mīrā Brihata Padāvalī*, *Mīrā Sudhā Sindhu* and the Belvedere edition.

1978 S. Eveland, *The Divine Lover of Mira Bai and Mechthild von Magdeburg : A Study of Two Women's Literary Description of a Mystical Relationship with God*; Ph.D. dissertation, Austin, Texas, 1978.

1979 Nicole Balbîr *Chants mystiques de Mîrābāi*, Paris, 1979.

1980 A. J. Alston, *The Devotional Poems of Mîrābāi*, Motilal, Delhi, 1980;
based on P. Caturvedî : 15th ed.

Conclusion

There must have been, 450 years ago in Rajasthan, a lady who sang songs of devotion. She is mentioned in the Nābhā *Bhaktamāla*, and one of her songs is preserved in the *Guru Grantha*. Unlike her male contemporaries, however, her songs were not written down in the form of a repertoire until about 1800 A.D. If we must find her songs in 17th century manuscripts, we have to go through *Pada-Saṅgraha* manuscripts. Similarly, it should be very rewarding to classify the sources 'about' Mîrā, starting with Nābhā, and see the ever increasing number of data.

GUJARATI LITERATURE OF THE JAINAS

By

BHOGILAL J. SANDESARA *

As in two other Indian languages, viz. Kannada and Tamil, the oldest literature in Gujarati is Jaina literature. The Gujarati language in its earliest stages developed under the fostering care of Jaina *Sādhu*-poets, and a study of early Gujarati is naturally a study of Jaina literature also. The province of Gujarat consists of the mainland of Gujarat and peninsular Gujarat comprising Saurashtra and Cutch. But while making a survey of Gujarati literature from earliest times we have also to think of literary activity in the region of Western Rajasthan also, because until the establishment of a Gujarati Sultanate at Ahmedabad in the 15th century or perhaps upto the 16th century, Gujarat and Rajasthan had a common language, and that is why the older form of the language of these tracts which is generally known as Old Gujarati has been also called Old Western Rajasthani by scholars like Tessitori.

The earlier references that we can discover about the language of the people of Marvad, Gujarat and *Lāṭa* (Southern Gujarat) are in the *Kuvalayamālā*, (788 A.D.), a *Prākṛta Kathā* by Udyotanasūri. Evidently, this language was a type of *Apabhraṃśa*. Bhoja (Circa 1050 A.D.) in his *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa*, a well-known work on rhetoric, refers to the *Gurjaras* as being satisfied with their own *Apabhraṃśa*, and with no other. Mārkaṇḍeya (circa 1475 A.D.), a Prakrit grammarian, while specifying twentyseven varieties of *Apabhraṃśa* mentions a type called *Gaurjarī*. All this leads us to the conclusion that Old Gujarati (or Old Western Rajasthani) sprang from a variety of *Apabhraṃśa* which was prevalent in these parts of the country.

There was a vast floating literature in *Apabhraṃśa* in Gujarat and Rajasthan of the Caulukya period, that is, in the 11th and 12th centuries. Numerous couplets of this floating literature have been preserved by the great Jaina Savant Hemacandra (1087-1174 A.D.) in his Prakrit Grammar, as illustrations of grammatical rules dealing with *Apabhraṃśa*. The work was composed by Hemacandra at the request of King Siddharāja Jayasimha at Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭana, the then capital of Gujarat. These are specimens of oldest literature in the regional language in this part of Western India. Many a Jaina writers of histori-

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cal *Prabandhas* and narrative works in Sanskrit have quoted numerous verses in post-*Apabhraṃśa* or Old Gujarati. Works like *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* (1305 A.D.) of Merutuṅga, *Prabandha-kośa* (circa 1349 A.D.) of Rājaśekhara, and *Purāṇa-prabandha-saṅgraha* deserve special mention from this point of view. In fact, it is possible to compile a rich anthology of Old Gujarati *Subhāṣitas* from the Jaina narrative literature in Sanskrit and also from such works in Old Gujarati.

The definite history of Gujarati language and literature begins roughly from the times of Hemacandra; and we find a rich literature written by the Jaina poets, thanks to *Jīṇa Bhāṇḍāras* or the manuscript libraries of the Jaina community. Even some very rare works in early Gujarati written by non-Jaina poets—works like *Sadayavatsacarita* (1410 A.D.) by Bhīma and *Uṣāharaṇa* (15th century A.D.) by Vīrasimha were available only in the Jaina *Bhāṇḍaras*, as in the case of numerous rare compositions in Sanskrit by non-Jaina authors.

The Jaina literature in Gujarati is extremely valuable for a study of the development of language as well as for a study of various forms of literature that grew and developed from earliest times to, say, till the beginning of the nineteenth century. Many a time, one and the same work is available in manuscript-form century by century or even at a shorter interval—and one can see very clearly how the language changed its form slowly. This literature is very valuable at the same time from the viewpoint of cultural history. It is not a purely religious literature, as some people have thought it to be. It touches and deals with many themes, both religious and secular, and well-known non-Jaina poets of Gujarati like Sāmaḷa Bhaṭṭa (1718-1765 A.D.) while writing versified *kathās* or tales have utilized earlier writing of Jaina authors.

We find following forms in Jaina literature in Old Gujarati. Most of them are naturally common with the non-Jaina literature, and some forms are also common with the literature of several other Indo-Aryan languages. They are (i) *Rāsu*, *Rāsa* or *Rāso*—an *Ākhyāna* type of literature giving a versified narrative of religious stories, (ii) *Kathā* or tale, (iii) Allegory, (iv) *Phāgu* or spring-poem, (v) *Bāramāsi* or season-poems describing the twelve months, (vi) *Matrkā* or *Kakka* or didactic poems in which each verse begins with a different letter of the alphabet, (vii) hymns and lyrics, (viii) prose-works. (ix) *Auktikas* or Gujarati works dealing with Sanskrit grammar.

The bulk of Jaina literature in Gujarati composed during the last several centuries is so large that it is hardly possible to mention even the important authors or works in the course of this short article. For such detail the curious reader might refer to the several bulky volumes of *Jaina Gurjar Kavio* (in Gujarati) by the late Shri Mohanlal D. Desai extending over four thousand pages. Here we shall refer to the most important authors or their works which can be considered milestones in the development of Gujarati literature and language.

The earliest poem in Gujarati language so far discovered is the *Bharata-Bāhubali Rāsa* (1185 A.D.) by Śālibhadrasūri, describing the fight between the two sons of the first Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara* Ādinātha, viz. Bharata and Bāhubali. It is a fairly long poem which has considerable merit as narrative literature. Next to this, chronologically, is the *Jivadayā Rāsa* (1201 A.D.) by Āsiga, dealing with the Jaina principle of non-violence. The third one, viz. the *Jambusvāmī Carita* (1210 A.D.) by Dharma was composed only ten years later and it describes the life of Jambusvāmī, the last saint to attain omniscience according to Jaina tradition, who renounced the world abandoning his eight beautiful wives. The *Revantagiri Rāsu* (1221 A.D.) by Vijayasenasūri was composed to commemorate the pilgrimage to Girnar made by the minister Vastupāla who is so famous as one of the builders of the memorable temples on Mt. Abu. It was composed for the recitation of *Śrāvaka* ladies on the occasion of the pilgrimage. Several other poems are written in this period, and some of them are already published in collections like the *Prācīna Gurjara Kāvyaśaṅgraha* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XIII).

In 1280 A.D. we come to the *Bālaśikṣa* by Saṅgrāmasimha, which is the oldest *auktika* available so far. Saṅgrāmasimha, was a lay follower, and not a *Sādhu*, and was the son of Ṭhakkura Kūrasimha of the *Śrīmālī* caste. In the title the author has used the word *Bāla* in the sense of a 'beginner.' The *Bālaśikṣā* aims at giving the student a working knowledge of the *Kātantra* grammar—the grammar which reigned supreme in Gujarat before the composition of Hemacandra's grammar, and which retained substantial following even after. Among other important *Auktikas* that we get the *Mūgdhāvabodha Auktika* (1394 A.D.) by Kulamaṇḍana gaṇi and *Ṣaṭkāraka* (circa 1394 A.D.) are notable. The *Mūgdhāvabodha* and other contemporary *Auktikas* are like milestones in the evolution of language, because by the end of the 14th century, the language of the region develops from a post-*Apabhraṃśa* speech into pure Old Gujarati. The *Auktika* literature went on multiplying and during later times many more *Auktikas* were composed.

Samarā Rāsu (1316 A.D.) of Ambadevasūri is a historical poem. Its hero is Samarasimha, a wealthy merchant from Pāṭaṇa. The poem was composed only twelve years after the Muslim conquest of Gujarat. With the permission of the Muslim Governor at Pāṭaṇa, who was a friend of Samarsimha, the latter renovated the Jaina temples on Mt. Śatruṅjaya, and led a pilgrim-caravan there. A similar historical poem composed in slightly earlier times is *Pethaḍa Rāsa* (circa 1304 A.D.) by Maṇḍalika describing the pilgrimages of Pethaḍa, a wealthy merchant from Saṇḍera near Pāṭaṇa, to the Jaina holy places in Saurāṣṭra.

The *Jinacandasūri Phāgu* (1285 A.D.) by an anonymous author, *Sthūli-bhadra Phagu* (circa 1334 A.D.) by Jinapadmasūri and *Neminātha Phāgu* (circa

1349 A.D.) by Rājaśekharaśūrī are earliest available specimens of *Phāgu*-form. *Phāgu* is a form of literature describing the erotic sports of spring, and it has a long and varied history in Gujarati literature. Most of the *Phāgus* are from Jaina authors, though a few of the non-Jaina *Phāgus* are extant. *Phāgus* composed by the Jaina authors have generally as their hero a well-known figure from Jaina history or mythology like Neminātha, Sthūlibhadra or Jambusvāmī. There are some *Phāgus* absolutely unconnected with any mythological figure, as for example, *Nārīnirāsa Phāgu* (16th century), which appears to be a versified rejoinder to the *Vasantavilāsa*, a *Phāgu* of pleasure-loving men and women of the world. Though full of erotic descriptions in the most ornate manner, these poems always end with the renunciation of the world by the hero. They have given a religious bias to a literary form borrowed from folk-literature. An anthology of thirty-eight *Phāgus* composed from 14th to 18th century with a detailed study of the form has been published by me in *Prācīna Gurjara Granthamālā*, (No. 3) of the Baroda University.

We have miscellaneous prose-writings on stray leaves of manuscripts in earlier times, but the first big work in prose is the *Śṛḍāvaśyaka Bālāvabodha* (1355 A.D.) by Taruṇaprabhasūrī. The word *Bālāvabodha* may be translated as 'work meant for the guidance of the *Bāla* or beginner,' and *Bālāvabodhas* are the Old Gujarati prose-translations of Jaina religious works. Almost all the important Jaina texts, both canonical and non-canonical were thus translated into Gujarati prose. Some works of general Sanskrit literature were also rendered into Gujarati. The *Bālāvabodha* of Taruṇaprabhasūrī contains a number of illustrative stories, and this provides a good example of Gujarati prose of the 14th century. Somasundarasūrī (15th century) and Merusundara Upādhyāya (15th century) have written two other *Bālāvabodhas* on the Prakrit work *Śaṣṭīśataka Prakaraṇa*; these alongwith a third one by Jinasāgarasūrī (1445 A.D.) have been published by me as the first volume of the *Prācīna Gurjara Granthamālā* of the Baroda University. It is not possible to mention here the numerous prose-writers of subsequent times; suffice it to say that we possess copious examples of prose of each century.

The *Prthvīcandracaritra* (1422 A.D.) of Māṇikyasundarasūrī, however, deserves separate mention, because it is an artistic piece of Jaina *Dharmakathā* in prose. The story is very short, describing the marriage of king Prthvīcandra of Paiṭhaṇa with princess Ratnamañjarī of Ayodhyā, and the renunciation of the world by Prthvīcandra after some time. It is full of descriptions of various objects and is written in a type of rhythmical prose, which is known as *Bolī* in Old Gujarati. The descriptions are highly interesting for a study of culture. There are several other works—mostly Jaina—in Old Gujarati which can be described as collections of *Varṇakas* or set descriptions in rhythmical prose.

Vaṇṇakasamuccaya is published by me in the *Prācīna Gurjara Granthamālā* (Part I and Part II as No. 4 & 8 respectively of the series, Baroda, 1956 and 1959).

In the beginning of the 15th century we come across an excellent allegorical poem, the *Tribhuvanadīpakaprabandha* or *Prabodhacintāmaṇi* (circa 1406 A.D.) by Jayaśekharaśūri. It is a free Gujarati version of a Sanskrit work by the author. It describes the defeat of *Moha* at the hand of king *Paramahansa* (highest soul) who was ruling over the whole world. The poet is one of the most eminent writers in Old Gujarati literature and the poem cannot be better appreciated than in the following words of the late Prof. K. H. Dhruva, “ by this single composition, the Jaina poet becomes a literary figure of the highest category. The genius of the poet has proved to be equally successful in construction of the plot, delineation of the characters and development of the allegory. The novelty of situation becomes helpful in producing various sentiments, and force of action and the skill of construction sustain the interest of the reader upto the end. If the Jaina poems had been recited, like the non-Jaina works, in markets and on roads, Jayaśekharaśūri also might have been famous like Bhālaṇa and Premānanda ”.

During the same period the poet Hirānanda has composed an important tale *Vidyāvilāsapavādo* (1428 A.D.), which is one of the sources of the famous *Vidyāvilāsinī Kathā* ascribed to Sāmaḷa Bhaṭṭa, but which, in fact, was a composition of two brothers Laghu and Sukha (1666 A.D.), two Jaina poets from Surat. Hirānanda has also left a historical poem, *Vastupāla-Tejapāla-Rāsa*, extolling the good deeds of the minister Vastupāla and his brother Tejapāla. In addition to many contemporary and later literary works in Sanskrit about Vastupāla, we have several poetical works about him called *Vastupāla Rāsa* or *Vastupāla-Tejapāla Rāsa* in Old Gujarati, and apart from the poem of Hirānanda, such *Rāsas* by Lakṣmīsāgara (after 1452 A.D.), Pārśvacandra (1541 A.D.), Samayasundara (1626 A.D.) and Meruvijaya (1665 A.D.) are available. Though these were written long after the time of Vastupāla, some of them supply very significant data about the personal history of the hero and about the general cultural background, which are not supplied by any of the contemporary authors for one reason or another.

In the later half of the 16th century A.D. we find the poems of Depāla Bhojaka, a lay follower. *Bhojakas* were originally *Śrīmālī* Brahmins, later on converted to Jainism. Depāla was patronised by two famous Jaina millionaires of Delhi, Samarāśā and Sāraṅgaśā. Unlike many other Jaina poets, Depāla has written only in Gujarati. Among his longer poems *Candanabālā Copāi* (1450 A.D.), *Vajrasvāmī Copāi* (1466 A.D.), *Jambusvāmī Pañcabhava Prabandha* (1466 A.D.), *Bāravratā Copāi* (1478 A.D.) are notable. He has also written

many short poems including devotional lyrics, *Phāgus* and some numerous compositions

Lāvānyasamaya (1465-1534 A.D.) is another prolific writer of distinction. According to his own statement, he was born at Ahmedabad in 1465, was initiated into the religious order at Pāṭaṇa in 1473, and began composing poetry at his sixteenth year through the favour of goddess Sarasvatī. He has composed about twentyfive poetical works, out of which the *Vimalaprabandha* (1512 A.D.) is the most well-known. It describes the life and work of the minister Vimala (11th century) of king Bhimadeva I of Aṇahilavāḍa, who is remembered today as the builder of that famous temple at Mt. Abu, called *Vimalavasati*. It can be easily inferred that for the purpose of this poetical history of Vimala, the author has utilized the traditional sources that were available in his times. This long poem, composed in a lucid and chaste style, is often enlivened by powerful descriptions and choice similes, and several sections are of great interest to the student of social history. In many respects the *Vimalaprabandha* can be compared with *Kānhaḍade Prabandha* (1456 A.D.), an earlier work by the Brahmin poet Padmanābha, describing the great valour of Kānhaḍade, the king of Jhalor in Rajasthan, in fighting against the forces of Sultan Allauddin Khilji of Delhi.

During this period also we get a number of important versified tales of the story-cycles of Vikrama and other popular heroes. *Pañcadaṇḍa Copāī* (1500 A.D.), by an unknown author, narrating how Vikrama acquired the possession of five miraculous maces, *Vikrama Rāsa* (1509 A.D.) by Udayabhānu, *Nandabatrīsī* (1504 A.D.) by Saṅghakula describing an episode of a king and his minister—are some of these. *Siṃhāsana-batrīsī* (1463 A.D.) by Malayacandra is the oldest available book in Gujarati, describing the exploits of Vikrama, as narrated by the thirtytwo effigies which formed the decorative motif of his throne. It is followed by story-books on the same theme by Siddhisūri (1560 A.D.), Hira-kalaśa (1580 A.D.) and Saṅghavijaya (1623 A.D.). Stories of Vikrama and vampire have been written by Devaśīla (1563 A.D.) and Hemānanda (1590 A.D.) and similar works have deeply influenced later literature in Gujarati, both Jaina and non-Jaina.

The story of Nala and Damayanti was popular in Indian languages, and so it was in Gujarati also. Jaina poets of Gujarat have written numerous poems on this theme, as adapted in Jaina mythology. And the number of such poems is a testimony to the appreciation they received. *Nala-Damayanti Caritra* (1483 A.D.) by an unknown poet and works entitled *Nala-Damayanti Rāsa* by Ṛṣivardhana (1456 A.D.), Nayasundara (1609 A.D.), Megharāja (1608 A.D.) and Samayasundara (1617 A.D.), *Nala-Damayanti Vivāha* (17th century) by Sevaka, *Nalākhyāna* (1671 A.D.) by Bhīma, a lay follower belonging to the Śrīmālī Vaṇika caste and *Nala-Damayanti Rāsa* (1766 A.D.) by Gulālavijaya are

some titles that can be cited. Of these, the poem by Nayasundara is undoubtedly the best, and many a time it is being prescribed as a text for the University students in Gujarati. *Rūpacandakumāra Rāsa* (1581 A.D.) by the same poet is an excellent popular tale elaborately narrated.

Samayasundara (1602-1645 A.D.) was a learned and prolific author who has written about a hundred poems in Gujarati (Marvadi) in addition to numerous original works and commentaries in Sanskrit. Space hardly permits even to enumerate his important works. *Guṇaratnākara Chanda* (1603 A.D.), *Sāmba pradyumna Prabandha* (1603 A.D.), *Sītārāmaprabandha* (1631 A.D.) etc. are quite remarkable from the literary point of view.

Rṣabhadāsa (1610-1631 A.D.) was a *Srāvaka* house-holder from Cambay, who has written a large number of *Rāsas*, hymns and devotional lyrics. His *Kumārapāla Rāsa* (1614 A.D.), a historical poem describing the life of king Kumārapāla of Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭāṇa as a pious Jaina, is a good example of the type. Many a works about Kumārapāla's life have been composed in Sanskrit, and the oldest available specimen of such a poem in Gujarati is the *Kumārapāla Rāsa* (1380 A.D.) of Devaprabhagaṇi.

Just as some works from Sanskrit and Prakrit are translated in prose, there are some renderings in verse also. The *Pañcākhyāna* (*Pañcatantra*) has been translated in verse by Ratnasundara (1566 A.D.), and the famous erotic poem in Sanskrit, viz. *Bihlaṇapañcāśikā* has been rendered into beautiful Gujarati verse by a poet named Jñāna (16th century) and also by Sāraṅga (1596 A.D.)

Among the poets who flourished in 17th and 18th centuries may be mentioned Yaśovijaya (1624-1687 A.D.), the great logician and philosopher, who did most of his writings in Sanskrit, but at the same time gave their substance in simple Gujarati verse, and Ānandghana alias Lābhānanda, renowned *Yogī* and contemporary of Yaśovijaya, who wrote exquisite philosophical lyrics and hymns in mystic strain. Vinayavijaya (17th-18th century A.D.) and Udayaratna (1699-1743 A.D.) are two poets who wrote on various religious and didactic topics, and Dīpavijaya (1794-1802 A.D.) composed poems describing cities like Baroda and Surat. Padmavijaya (1772-1802 A.D.) and Viravijaya (1792-1847) are among the notable poets who flourished at a still later period.

It has not been possible in this short sketch to mention even all the most important works and authors. Still some broad currents are indicated, and it is hoped that this will be suggestive of the vast amount of literary heritage that is Jain literature in the regional language of Gujarat, not to talk of rich and valuable literature in Sanskrit, Prakrit and *Apabhraṃśa*. May that great heritage be an inspiration for the future !

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REVIEWS

The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* : *Mytho-social Study* by Sindhu S. Dange, Ajanta Publications; 1984, pp. x + 305, Price Rs. 150/-.

The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* is one of the eighteen *mahā-purāṇas*. It is a popular Purāṇa and is recognised as one of the *prasthānas* by Vallabhācārya and its *saptāhas* are well-known in Gujarat. There are several studies and papers on it dealing with its several problems and aspects.

The authoress states that she "worked on this topic as the first Research-scholar of the Sanskrit Department (1964-1966) (of the Nagpur University, Nagpur) (bracket ours) for my Ph.D. degree" and she continues to state that "much new material has been added since, and the work was revised suitably, when it went to the press" (Preface, p. x).

The authoress presents her study in seven chapters with an "Introduction"-chapter at the beginning (pp. 1-267) and four appendices viz. (A) The curse of Saudāsa, (B) Index of Customs and Beliefs with parallels, (C) Classified list of curses in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* and (D) The Sun-Boy (pp. 268-288). The "Bibliography" and the General Index" cover pages 284-306.

In the Introduction-chapter the authoress touches very briefly topics like the date of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, exploits of Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa-cult etc. under the caption "Scholars and the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*" and in the second section under the caption "Findings from the Study" she outlines the main findings. In the seven chapters she deals with the following topics:—The "Śeṣa—the great serpent" (chapter 1), "The navel-lotus" (chapter 2), "Curse as an effective strategy" with reference to e.g. 'Curse pertaining to the elevation of a person': Vidura cursed by Māṇḍavya; 'Curse based upon a particular trait of a person' (with reference to Jarā) etc. (chapter 3), "Customs and Beliefs," e.g. 'Customs and rules at pregnancy and child-birth'—*Puṁsavana*-rite, *payovrata* etc., 'Beliefs' e.g. the belief in supernatural birth, e.g. account of King Vena, the belief in watery places possessing magical power etc. (chapter 4). "The exploits of Kṛṣṇa as cowherd-boy," e.g. the Pūtānā episode etc. (chapter 5); "Incarnations," e.g. the Fish etc. (chapter 6) and "Folk-beliefs in philosophical allegories," e.g. Purañjana etc. (chapter 7).

The present book is an effort "which confines itself to the study of Beliefs and Customs from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Though it is impossible to explain

each and every custom or belief, a comparative and critical study has been undertaken. For example curses, birth-rituals, hero's exploits etc. have been viewed critically. The origin of mythological concepts such as the Cosmic Serpent and the Cosmic Lotus from which Brahmā was born has also been gone into. The Hindu tradition is taken note of, and parallel instances from other nations and peoples have been given. The customs and beliefs current in the present-day Hindu society have found a place. In a number of cases, such details have been recorded for the first time." (Preface, p. ix).

It is possible that some episodes may be interpreted differently from a different point of view, e.g. From a modern point of view in the Kāliya damana episode "Krishna looks deceptively like an ordinary snake-charmer. But he is said to have saved the world from an amphibious serpent who had polluted the seas. Krishna is a modern environmentalist who has prevented an ecological disaster." (*Times of India*, June, 4, 1990, Ahmedabad edition, p. 16). From the point of view of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* being the *nigamakalpataṛo galitaṁ phalam* (1.1.3) (cf. also *Vedopaniṣadāṁ sārāj jātā bhāgavatī kathā. Padma Purāṇa, Uttarakhaṇḍa Śrīmadbhāgavata mātmya, Adhyāya 2, Stanza 67*) one may try "to discover Vedic traces" in the Govardhana-dhāraṇalīlā-episode (Dandekar R. N. *Vedic Bibliography*, Vol. IV, Poona, 1985, p. 648; for details vide Kantawala S. G., Some Observations on the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. A Study in Vedico-Purāṇic Correlates, Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda*, Baroda, Vol. 24, No. 1 (1975,), pp. 41-48).

It may also be observed that an attempt to find correlation between some customs and beliefs recorded in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* and their counterparts in the present day Society tends to reflect the continuity and dynamism of Indian cultural heritage and also on the wonderful art of the Purāṇakāra to depict various throbbings and pulsations of the society in the Purāṇa.

The book makes an interesting and thought provoking reading. The authoress and the publisher deserve our hearty congratulations for publishing this painstaking study and we look forward to have many more works from Dr. S. S. Dange's learned pen in the years to come. It is hoped that the book will find a place in the libraries of colleges, universities and indological institutions.

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S. G. KANTAWALA

The Glimpses of Indological Heritage : By Dr. UMA DESHPANDE, Pubd by Good Companions, Usha Kiran Bldg., Raopura Road, Baroda, pp. x + 56 + 90, Price: Rs. 75=00.

The book is an excellent and compact bringing out of several articles on Vedic, Upanishadic, linguistic, indological and philosophical nature in composite form. There are fifteen articles starting from the status of women and position of female seers in *Rgveda* ending upto the valuable legacy of Sanskrit language. The author, Dr. Uma Deshpande, has shed significant light on ancient scriptures of Indian philosophy such as Vedas, Upaniṣads and *Bhagavad-gītā*.

The status of women in ancient Vedic times was unique and most admirable. She was indeed called Brahmavādinī and was entitled to participate in sacrificial, ritualistic and other valuable social activities. Not only that she was 'queen' of the house but she was also regarded as the most learned and philosophically competent to take part in debates and discussions in royal and intellectual courts. The author has highlighted on ancient writings and expounded the meanings of goddesses such as Uṣā, Nīṣāt, Saramā, Medhā, Vāk, Śraddhā and others. As the modern Renaissance thinkers have shown, their meanings are subtle and spiritual. In this way the author has shown true import of ancient heritage as well as scriptural source. The chapter on *Nirukta* is indeed an important contribution in this direction. The author has besides this written a dissertation on linguistic aspect of *Nirukta*.

This article is in consistency with laying explicitly the complex structure and essence of *Rgveda* and the connotation of each term analysing its 'dhātu.' This is valuable in the sense that Indian academic author and competent scholar point's out the real approach to unravel the Sanskrit language of ancient lore. Some of the western writers have not been able to appreciate the so-called polytheistic and ritualistic writings of Vedas in absence of the linguistic and analytic understanding of grammar and terms of Vedas which the present author has brought into prominence in the book.

Again the 'Sūtra's are the source-pillars of Indian philosophical principles and explanations. They do not at all suggest the authoritative and pedestal nature of Hindu religion and progress. They have come down through centuries in form of consideration, logical word and form to be interpreted in light of experience and Reality. The word 'jijñāsā' itself points to intellectual understanding without any pre-conceived idea and supposition. The *Prasthāntrayī* forms an inextricable link in the development of genuine philosophical system of Truth and Reality. In *Gītā* and *Brahmasūtras* there is a running thread of logical thought and philosophical context. The objects of soul, world and *Brahman* have been dealt with several rational supports and valuational dimensions. The

Vedantic interpretation of *Gītā* and *Sūtras* is dependent upon thoughtful and meaning-loaded terms referring to propositions, facts of life, soul of vital and spiritual origin as well as macroscopic *Brahman*. It is true that later development of religion and philosophical thought admits of deviations into Purāṇas and other Dharmśāstras dealing with the popular and mythological matters of social and cultural origin. However it should not lose sight of the mother-chord of true Sruti and Smṛti which form real source of Truth in Indian philosophy. It is in this way that the nature of *Brahman* is comprehensive as it includes the cause and reason, motion and purpose, nature and self, the individual and the world. This gives the inclusive and exclusive aspects of Infinite Reality of *Brahman*. At times its impersonal dimension was exclusively emphasised at the cost of its personal one. The author has attempted to reconcile the opposite characters of Reality of Brahman as described in *Gītā* and *Sūtras*. The system offered by Bādarāyaṇa of the *Sūtras* is widely sympathetic to cosmological, theological and rational as well as epistemological essences of Mahāvākyas and Darśanas. The divergent views and disagreements regarding objects of knowledge, action, devotion and *Brahman* were matters of later intellectual development. Author has rightly brought out the subordinate character of *Bhagavad-gītā* in the lineage of scriptural course.

Author has largely dwelt upon the latitudes regarding import of *Karma* as shown by Śaṅkara and looking to the then times when Action might have carried a religious, ritualistic and traditional meaning, the emphasis was given on purity of self, knowledge and experience. However when times were changed and new standpoint of devotion and self-surrender was revealed by Rāmānuja it created equally profound system of world, soul and All-inclusive Brahman. Author has presented pin-pointed debate between two giant thinkers of Indian philosophy regarding the topics of knowledge and action.

Along with ancient scriptural literature author has written on modern philosophers, sages and religious reformers of Hindu religion and society. The philosophical system of Vallabhācārya has been exhaustively dealt with by presenting sixteen treatises in nutshell such as *Yamunāṣṭaka*, *Siddhāntamuktāvali* and *Puṣṭipravahanamaryādābheda* and others. It may be in passing pointed out that Vallabhācārya made a distinction between *Puṣṭi* and *Maryādā* and held that *Maryādāmārga* is open to the males of three sarvanas. It was *Puṣṭi* which was thought to be open to all men, women and castes alike. To that extent Vallabhācārya was not free from caste barrier. The author has given original verses with their meanings explained. The later part of the book is well written providing inmost values of spiritual lives of Rang Avadhoota, Swami Sahajānanda and Śrī Saibābā of Shirdi. Besides these articles author has written on certain Sanskrit plays such as *Rasikavinoda* of Kama'ākara Bhaṭṭa, *Svānubhūti* of Ananta

Pandita, their historical, social, philosophical and religious principles in synopsis revealing their literary value of style and articulation. In writing these appreciations author has disclosed the metaphysical and cultural significances of the plays in detail as well as in thematic manner. A comparison between cycle-plays in western countries with morality plays as here and abroad has been relevantly made and when one looks into the parallel a new quality of art and literature is creatively felt. The play of 'Svānubhūti' as it lay in manuscript form in the Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, is rare exploration and intensive study of the author as master-play depicting psychological emotion, sentiment and at the same time imparting prescription of understanding of moral value is timely. It surveys the nature of God, Godhead, self, liberation, human endeavour and the world at large.

In the essay on the pragmatic philosophy preached and practised by Śrī Saibābā of Shirdi it is amply shown how his acquisition of knowledge and realization is near to that of Upaniṣads and simplicity of life can achieve for mankind some of the priceless values of life. His urge for Lokasaṅgraha and selfless service, has elevated rural people to high social betterment. Similarly superhuman erudition and divine mission of Swami Vasudevanandaji (Garudeshwara), the miraculous and yet benevolent nature of Swamiji has been graphically described inspiring the reader to moral and altruistic aims of behaviour and motivation. Dattātreya as God has been the spiritual symbol of many devotees and adepts in Sādhana leading to self-discipline and self-knowledge. Swamiji was one of the rare combinations of poet and philosopher, social servant and literary artist. Author has delineated some of the significant examples of Mantra poetry offered to Sri Dattātreya.

Contemporary Indian thinkers such as Lokmanya Tilak, Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo were very much influenced by *Bhagavad-gītā* and Sri Aurobindo's 'Essays on the Gita' has been considered to be a master-piece book on the same. The doctrine of Incarnation has been specifically commanded by scholars of the subject as Sri Aurobindo explains it as a superhuman effort of the ascent towards evolutionary scale. In short resume author has shown how Sri Aurobindo has explained the Yoga of Gītā and treated its technique of total surrender as the most valuable training ground for human soul to give up not only the desire of intended consequences but even the 'interest' in it. It is the supreme conquest of human will over nature and its modes of activity. In the articles relating to biographical feature of Rangavadhoot, the saint of Nāreshvar and in the brief sketch of 'Satyāgraha-Gītā' the example of sacrifice, aspiration for knowledge, zeal for implementation of preaching joined with literary ability of poetry and composition have been delineated. Many aspirants of spiritual life have found intellectual and devotional satisfaction in his spiritual writings as well as his hermitage at the bank of river Narmadā.

Satyāgraha-Gītā is a significant treatise written by Pandita Kshama Rao in which some of the outstanding events of the life of Mahatma Gandhi have been rendered in verse. It is written in eighteen cantos concluding with Gandhi-Irwin pact of 1931. Kshamadevi has also written *Tukārāmacaritam* and *Jñāneśvaricaritam*. Author has selected representative verses depicting the epoch making events in Gandhiji's life such as boycott of foreign goods, educational innovation at Wardha and others. The last article on Sanskrit language— an immortal heritage is devoted to the treatment of well-known scholars of indology and Sanskrit literature. Personalities such as pandit S. B. Velankar, Prof. R. N. Dandekar, Jagannath S. Padeshastri, Badrinath K. Shastri and Maniskanker V. Upadhyaya are some of the savants whose biographical details and writings have been dealt with by the author making the entire collection a rich treasure of knowledge and book of lucid and direct heart-rending style. It is useful contribution to Indological literature in general and Indian philosophy is particular. To bring essays of varies interests of literature, religion, mysticism, philosophy and Indology is in itself a valuable task, difficult it is, yet at the same time it yielded enhanced joy when accomplished with methodical way of composition.

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Ancient India In a New Light by K. D. Sethna, publisher—Aditya Prakashan, 4829/1, Prahlad Lane, 24, Ansari Road, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 1-646, price Rs. 500-00.

The book under review—viz. *Ancient India, In A New Light*, by Shri K. D. Sethna is a very highly thought provoking treatise on the History of Ancient India. It soundly challenges the chronology of ancient India as attempted by the modern historians.

In view of the modern historians the “*Indica*” of Megesthenes, the ambassador to the Indian Emperor at Pataliputra who was the contemporary of Alexander the Great is the starting point for fixing the ancient chronology of India. Prof. K. D. Sethna, first of all points out the anomalies in taking the Emperor at Pataliputra to be Chandragupta Maurya as referred to by Megesthenes by the name ‘Sandracottus.’ From the arguments and reasoning based on the versions of the ‘Indic’ given by Arrian, Ptolemy, Pliny and others,

the Purāṇic chronology, the calculations of time based on the 'Saptarṣi' system of reckoning the span of time and the examination of the views of the modern historians—H. C. Ray Chaudhari, R. C. Majumdar, D. R. Bhandarkar, K. A. Nilakantha Shastri, A. D. Pusalkar, R. K. Mookerji, A. S. Altekar, D. C. Sircar, A. K. Narain, and Romila Thapar etc. Shri K. D. Sethna establishes that 'Sandracottus' referred to by the Greek Ambassador is not Chandragupta Maurya, but he is Chandragupta I, the founder of the Gupta dynasty. It was to his court that Seleucus Nicator sent Megasthenes as his envoy.

This shifting of the identity of 'Sandracottus' creates a number of problems in the field of chronology of ancient India and the very interpretation of the ancient Indian History. Prof. K. D. Sethna, in the course of his illuminating discussions, has taken up every such conceivable problem and on the basis of sound reasoning has interpreted most of the known or lesser known events of ancient history in the light of his new chronology.

Thus, he takes up the matter of the Paurāṇika dynasties of kings having their number as 154 and traces them back to king Pṛthu Vainya, the celebrated Ādi rāj, starting from Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. He also shows how Dionysus described by the Greek annals can be equated to Pṛthu Vainya. According to this consideration Chandragupta Maurya goes to an earlier period, and thus he is not the contemporary of Alexander the Great. The author shows, how the identification of 'Sandracottus' with Chandragupta I fits well with the Purāṇic accounts of the dynasties.

The author has discussed and interpreted a number of inscriptions in the course of the presentation of his thesis of the new Chronology like the Meherauli Iron Pillar inscription of Chandra, Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, Besnagar Inscription in the Old Gwalior State, Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II, Ghosundi Inscription in the Chittorgarh district etc. He has taken into consideration several rock-edicts of Emperor Aśoka and king Rudradāman's inscription.

Similarly the author has taken up the consideration of coins of several ancient rulers like Augustus Caesar, Candragupta I, Chandrugupta II, Huvishka, Kadphises, Kanishka, Kushanas, Romans, Śakas, Samudragupta, Seleucus I etc. He has interpreted the legends on these coins and determined their chronology.

The author has considered various Eras of Ancient India like Vikram Era and Saka Era, Gupta Era etc. and shown the chronological position amongst them. He has also shown how in ancient India more than one such eras were in vogue. Thus he discusses two Śaka eras, one that of 78 A.D. which is usually considered the Śālivahana Śaka, and another of 550-51 B.C. which was also current in ancient India. This was the Śaka era brought into Sind from Iran by the two Śaka families, the Kahahrātas and the Kārdamakās, soon after the

conquests to the west of Indus by the first Achaekrenid emperor Cyrus (558-530 B.C.).

In parts one and two of the book, the author discusses the challenge of India's Traditional Chronology and the Momentous Evidence of Megesthenes. Here he shows how the Purāṇic Chronology and the calculations on the basis of the Saptarṣi Era tally with the chronological clues given by the Greek Ambassador.

In part three the author attempts at 'A Reconstruction of Ancient Indian History: Aśoka—and Before and After, in which he explains the major known events of the Ancient Indian History in the light of the new chronology. As the 9th portion of this part the author has given the Historical Picture of Kṛṣṇa-worship.

Then the author gives two supplements to his book, (i) The Date of the Bhārata War and of the Kaliyuga marked by Kṛṣṇa's Death and (ii) The Chronological and Administrative Bearing of the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra.

As the concluding portion of his book the author gives a section entitled the New Chronology and a General Summary. In this section the author sums up the conclusions arrived at by him after a long and arduous endeavour of historical research.

At the end a 'Bibliography' is given which comprises of 1. printed pages, and a systematic alphabetical Index of names is given after the concluding section, which would enhance the usefulness of the present volume for the purposes of research.

Alongwith the works of modern historians of our country the author has fully utilized the works of foreign scholars like F. E. Pargiter, J. Allan, A. L. Basham, Jules Bloch, H. T. Colebrooke, A. Cunningham, Rhys Davids, Vincent A. Smith, Will Durant, J. B. Fleet, James Hasting, Sylvan Levi, A. A. Macdonell, J. Mc Crindle, J. Muir and Max Müller to name some of them.

It must be said to the credit of the author that he has presented his material with a broad, open mind. While he has himself tried to anticipate possible objections and answered them, he is all the more willing to welcome criticism. He would feel sorry if the professional scholars feign indifference. As his introduction informs us, his appeal is the old Themisto clean cry. "strike, but hear !"

On the whole, it must be admitted that the author really deserves our hearty congratulations for presenting to us a very valuable work like this which is definitely the outcome of his patient studies of years together,

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M. M. PATHAK

Mallanāga Vātsyāyana Das Kāmasūtra, übersetzt aus dem Sanskrit mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Glossar von Klaus Mylius. Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig 1987. p. 198, Price: Not mentioned.

The book under review, based on the 1964 Chowkhamba edition of Mallanāga Vātsyāyana's (late third century AD according to Mylius) *Kāmasūtra*, is a complete work—a translation, made with an eye to an enlightened reading circle, with an introduction and exhaustive explanatory notes at the end of the book and by the merit of the translator, a useful addition to the existing literature on the world classic.

As one of the earliest '*Leitfaden der Liebeskunst*', the original work does not require any special introduction in this review. Encyclopaedic in nature it relates everything relating to sex and love from the point of view of the Indian urban aristocracy probably belonging to western India in the third century AD. The main topics dealt with in its seven *Adhikaraṇas* (thirty-six chapters) are : general questions concerning the aim of life, the science of erotics and other sciences and arts and daily life, sexual intercourse, bride selection and marriage, the wife's life, relation with other men's wives, prostitution, secret practices for stimulation.

Written in the form of about 1500 aphorisms and verses—an ancient and difficult style for one not in the tradition, the original work tends to defy a lucid-cum-faithful translation. But, in this primary task, Mylius proves himself abundantly successful in that he has never sacrificed the intention of the author and at the same time has produced a readable translation made further clear with 386 explanatory notes and a glossary of proper names and kindred matter.

Like his predecessors, Mylius had to depend on the Sanskrit commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* by Yaśodhara (13th cent.) but not without reservations. The chapter headings are from this. Often (e.g. I,2,16) the *Jayamaṅgalā* has been preferred to other translations while occasionally (V. 4,42) the reverse is the case. These do not make much material difference. The translation must be regarded as a well-planned combination of scientific exactitude and lucidity. Moreover, conforming to the present age, Mylius has improved upon Richard Schmidt's now outdated translation, as the latter had to pay heed to the then prevalent inhibitions of Europe.

As the title-heads of its four sections indicate, the twelve page Introduction deals broadly with the origin and importance of the science in India-literature, the *Kāmasūtra*'s contents and utility as a source-book of India's social history, date and related information and the style of the *Kāmasūtra*. However, the Introduction goes much deeper than what the section headings indicate. One of the main points brought home here is the acceptance in ancient India of sex not as something special but as an integral part of life—a view standing in sharp

contrast to the approach of the pre-twentieth century West. But what about love in the modern sense of the term—i.e. mutual love? Any answer to this question has to be inferred from Mylius' observations (p. 8) on the equality of men and women in sex as emphasised by Vātsyāyana. But these concern the physical act. Mylius also observes (p. 7). "The translation presented here will be sufficient to show that Vātsyāyana was far from reducing love to gross physical crudities". What is hinted at is Vātsyāyana's strict rules (III. 2.5 etc.) against the use of force and also passages (III. 4.52) indicating the incompatibility of polygamy with inner happiness.

One may refer here to the questions raised in the last century by European Indologists on whether Indians cared for love as Europeans did. That was a silly debate. The scholars were not aware of contemporary and later researches and observations that modern love could not occur in the regulated official society of the pre-modern ages. So also in the *Kāmasūtra*. Anything approaching proper courtship comes into discussion in Book V, '*Auf die Gattinnen von anderen Bezügliches*'. Modern love is thus apprehended, but outside the good society. This is one of the few topics on which one or two words more could be said only because Mylius' views may be misunderstood.

That Mylius' approach is critical is obvious from the Introduction. His scholarly sympathy for Vātsyāyana does not hinder justified comments on Vātsyāyana's total conformism to Brahminism—the patriarchal and hierarchical *Varṇa-Āśrama* system of social order. Even "*Über Polygamie und die Lebensverhältnisse im Harem äussert sich Vātsyāyana ganz dem patriarchalischen Charakter seiner Zeit entsprechend*" (p. 12) Nevertheless, Mylius also brings to notice Vātsyāyana's criticism of the polygamous practices of rich men, apprehending the ethics of monogamy: *Gewöhnlich haben Reiche viele Frauen, die ungehindert (wandeln können). Aber wenn auch äusserlicher Genuss vorhanden ist, sind sie (doch) ohne inneres Glück. (wenngleich) äusserlich glücklich.* (III. 4.52, Mylius p. 12).

There are other cases where the *Kāmasūtra* lends itself to comparison with Kauṭilyan and modern concepts. As noted above, Mylius points out Vātsyāyana's view that there should be equality between man and woman in love and that the science is not meant for men alone. This relates to the physical aspect. But otherwise too, sometimes both sexes have been given equal footing to a limited extent. One may contrast the Nāgaraka and Gaṇikā of Vātsyāyana to the Vijigīṣu king of Kauṭilya as Vātsyāyana himself clearly suggests in I.4.34. Both are viewed as the central subject like the Vijigīṣu king of Kauṭilya and thus stand on the same plane. One notes here an egalitarianism which peters out in the normal society of the householder.

A comparison with Kauṭilya regarding Vātsyāyana's apparent amorality is however an already noted fact. In spite of the limited scope of the Introduc-

tion, Mylius has ably let his views known, "*Wie ein Liebhaber mit Hilfe einer fremden Ehefrau deren Gatten töten und sich dessen Vermögen aneignen kann, erörtert in kuhler Sachbezogenheit* I, 5, 11" (p. 10, also n. 86). What Vātsyāyana has for the licentious despot is left to be read from the translation. But at the end of the concerned chapter (V. 5.37) Vātsyāyana condemns the practice, "The king for whom the welfare of the people is the aim should not practise these." Mylius notes such contradictions (pp. 8-9). Vātsyāyana's claim that he has composed the work in spiritual concentration and penance is compared to Marcus Valerius Martialis. "The pages of our books are unchaste, (but our) life is modest." Mylius shows why we should believe in Vātsyāyana's words and almost plunges into the age of Vātsyāyana to show the causal factors behind the apparent hypocrisy. Pedantic classification and systematisation of rich details were the order of the day. So Vātsyāyana had to go into every detail, good or bad, which makes the *Kāmasūtra* so rich in information and also pedantic. Mylius, thus, explains what is what and why, without and apparently rejecting the negative theory of amorism.

The western Indian origin of the *Kāmasūtra* is plausibly shown and confirmed in the notes (e.g., n. 132). But regarding the suggested dates, viz, the second half of the 3rd century AD, differences might exist. Mylius' own observation that the *Kāmasūtra* concerns itself with the urban upper classes (p. 12) suggesting prosperous urban life in western India, conforms to a bit earlier state of affairs. The Sātavāhana rule—rich in trade and commerce and inferably in urbanism—had come to an end around 230 AD. Between this and the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century AD, there was no empire and many western Indian cities had declined (Nevasa, Nasik, Maheswar and Navdatoli.); Vātsyāyana seems to have lived before this decline.

The 386 explanatory notes in 17 pages with small types and the Glossary, intended to see that every word, every theme and every obscure sentence is understood by the reader, have also their independent value for Indologists. Three pages of bibliography inform the reader of all the major works on the subject. One may add here Knaur's *Kāmasūtra—Die indische Liebeskunst* (tr. Guido München 1988), a rather popular translation though informative.

After reading Mylius' translation one cannot help feeling that one was carried deep into the life of a third century city and its surroundings in western India. One sees and understands, to an extent, its complexities, the banalities and cruelties, as well as the distinctions and civilisation. Also one is made to perceive how a classic was born from thousand years' tradition.

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DIPAK BHATTACHARYA

The Sants Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India Ed. by Karine Schomer and W. H. Mcleod, Pub. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1987, Price Rs. 300, pp. i-x + 1-472.

This momentous publication contains studied articles based on extensive field-work on various aspects of the sant tradition in medieval India. Majority of the articles were presented at a conference held under the auspices of the Graduate Theological Union and the Centre of South and South-east Asian Studies of the University of Colifornia at Berkeley. The subject is divided into four sections : (1) Background (2) Literature (3) Movements and (4) Related Traditions,

In his Introduction Karine Schomer places the Sant tradition in the right perspective. He shows how *bhakti*-movement, starting in Tamilnadu in the seventh century, spread to the whole of India, reaching its zenith between fifteenth and seventeenth century. This legacy is a living tradition even today and permeates all aspects of Hindu religious life. The songs of sant-poets, their wise utterances based on direct, personal experience of reality in their own heart, their simple lives and related legends, have become the classics of various Indian vernaculars. The impact of Sants like Kabir, Nanak, Dadu, Paltu Sahib, Tulsi Sahib, the Siddhas of the South upto Swami Shiv Dayal Singh who founded Radhasoami movement has been very remarkable on lives of ordinary people of India, especially on the lower strata of society. The Sants lived a life of householder, emphasized the power of God's name, insisted on *Satsanga* or congregation and purity of living. The articles and their authors are as follows :

<i>Article</i>	<i>Author</i>
1. Introduction: The Sant Tradition in Prespective	Karine Schomer
2. Sant Mat : Santism as the Universal Path to Sanctity	Charlotte Vaudeville
3. The Ineffable <i>Nirguṇa Brahman</i>	Frits Staal
4. The Interaction of <i>Sagūṇa</i> and <i>Nirguṇa</i> Images of Deity	Wendy O'Flaherty
5. Love and Meditation in the <i>Bhakti</i> Tradition	Andrew Rawlinson
6. The <i>Dohā</i> as a Vehicale of Sant Teachings	Karine Schomer
7. Eknath's <i>Bhāruḍ</i> : The Sant as a Link between Cultures	Eleanor Zelliot
8. Three Kabir Collections: A Comparative Study	Linda Hess
9. Kabir's Rough Rhetoric	Linda Hess

<i>Article</i>	<i>Author</i>
10. Two Truths are Told: Tagore's Kabir	Vijay C. Mishra
11. Dadu and the Dadu-Panth: The Sources	Winand M. Callewaert
12. The Sant in Sur Das	John Stratton Hawley
13. The Shaiva-Vaishnava Synthesis in Maharashtrian Santism	Charlotte Vaudeville
14. The Development of the Sikh Panth	W. H. Mcleod
15. The Meaning of 'Sant' in Sikh Usage	W. H. Mcleod
16. Sants and the Sant Tradition in the Context of Overseas Sikh Communities	Bruce Labrack
17. The Kabir-Panth and Social Protest	David Lorenzen
18. Clan and Lineage among the Sants: Seed, Service, Substance	Daniel Gold
19. The Radhasoami Revival of the Sant Tradition	Mark Juergensmeyer
20. The Sant Movement and North Indian Sufis	Bruce B. Lawrence
21. The Bauls and the Islamic Tradition	Edward C. Dimock
22. The Writings of the Tamil Siddhas	K. Kailasapathy

All the articles are authentic, informative and eminently readable.

Glossary of words and bibliography add to the value of this remarkable publication.

Vadodara.

R. T. VYAS.

Existence and Enlightenment in the Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra: A Study in the Ontology and Epistemology of the Yogācāra School of Mahāyāna Buddhism by Florin Giripescu Sutton, published by State University of New York Press, Albany, U.S.A., 1991, pp. i to xxii + 1 to 371, Price: not mentioned.

The present work represents a brilliant, well-authenticated, critical and balanced attempt at a fresh and stimulating interpretation of the most influential scripture of Mahāyāna Buddhism, namely, *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.

The author, for his interpretative structure has found it useful to follow the guidelines laid out by Edmund Husserl, the founder of phenomenology who

tends to define Being along three dimensions, i.e., its essence, its temporal and spatial coordinates. He equates the three basic Buddhist Concepts of *tathāgata-garbha*, five *skandhas* and the *dharmadhātu*, with the essence of Being and its temporal and spatial manifestation respectively. The first concept of *tathāgata-garbha* signifies the embryo of Buddhahood present in all human beings and all things in seed-state ready to be developed into perfection. It is made clear that it does not represent metaphysical substance or substratum like the upaniṣadic ātman, rather it is only a metaphysical construct, without ontological validity devised by the Master as a didactic tool for the benefit of those who cannot comprehend the profound but terrifying truth of egolessness and voidness of all *dharma*s.

The temporal manifestation of Being is the inner psycho-physical aggregate that makes up human personality, the five *skandhas*. And the spatial and outer manifestation of Being, represents its concrete manifestation in the physical world.

It is rightly pointed out that the *catuṣkoti* or tetralemma logic of the Mahāyāna Buddhism, while serving as the epistemic structure underlying the Buddhist world-view, aims to dissuade the aspirant from engaging himself in futile speculative constructions and inspires him to follow the path of meditation that leads to the direct personal experience of Reality. The very name *yogācāra* is suggestive of this fact.

Unlike his predecessors, the author ventures to suggest that the *yogācāra* concept of consciousness only does not signify idealism, as it refers to spiritual practice more, accurately, represents a stage of meditation. Thus according to him the Buddhist metaphysics leaves adequate room for theoretical realism.

In short, the author deserves to be congratulated for having done an excellent job, adding an important work to the existing literature on Buddhist studies.

Vadodara

R. T. VYAS

Philosophical Enquiries, by Margaret Chatterjee, first published by New Age Publishers Private Ltd., Calcutta, in 1968, reprinted by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1988, Price, Rs. 60/- (paper) Rs. 90/- (Cloth), pp. i to x + 1 to 294.

The book under review is a brief but well-conceived and authentic introduction to the Western Philosophy, especially meant for students and

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general readers. It is divided into four parts : (1) General (2) The Nature of Knowledge (3) Man and Nature and (4) God, Man and Value.

The author being a teacher of philosophy knew the needs and demands of the students and accordingly has written this well-laid out and studied book that leaves no corner of the spectrum of philosophy on which she has not shed adequate light. Her treatment of several topics arouses the reader to refer the original source.

She thinks it difficult to define philosophy but successfully shows what the central philosophical enquiries could be like. A Historical Methodology is adopted by her because the philosophy of West cannot be properly understood without some knowledge of the background out of which specific philosophic concepts grew.

The work is systematic, authentic, brilliant and eminently readable. Selected bibliography and index enhance the value of this very interesting book.

Vadodara

R. T. VYAS

શ્રી સયાજી સાહિત્યમાળા

રૂ. પૈ.

૩૩૩	કૈલાસ—સ્વામી પ્રણવતીર્થજી	૧૩=૦૦
૩૩૪	અંબિકા, કોટશ્વર અને કુંભારિયા—(સ્વ.) શ્રી. કનૈયાલાલ ભા. દવે	૫=૫૦
૩૩૫	ઐતિહાસિક લેખસંગ્રહ—(સ્વ.) શ્રી પંડિત લાલચંદ ભ. ગાંધી	૧૮=૦૦
૩૩૬	હરિભદ્રસૂરિ—પ્રો. હીરાલાલ ર. કાપડિયા	૧૧=૦૦
૩૩૮	ભવાઈના વેશની વાર્તાઓ—(સ્વ.) શ્રી. ભરતરામ ભા. મહેતા	૩=૦૦
૩૩૯	શ્રીમદ્ ભાગવત (ગુજરાતી અનુવાદ): ભાગ ૧, સ્કંધ ૧-૩— (સ્વ.) શ્રી નાગરદાસ અમરજી પંખા (૧૯૬૫)	૮=૦૬
૩૪૦	ગુજરાત સ્થળનામ સંસદ વ્યાખ્યાનમાલા, ભાગ ૧ (૧૯૬૫)	૯=૦૦
૩૪૨	કુદરતની રીતે વધુ આરોગ્ય—શ્રી. શાંતિલાલ પ્ર. પુરોહિત (૧૯૬૭)	૭=૫૦
૩૪૩	ભારત-રતન—શ્રી. હિપેન્દ્રરાય જ. સાંડેસરા (૧૯૬૭)	૧૫=૫૦
૩૪૪	મહાગુજરાતના મુસલમાનો, ભાગ ૧-૨—શ્રી કરીમ મહંમદ માસ્તર	૧૭=૦૦
૩૪૬	પેટ્રોલિયમ—શ્રી પદ્મકાન્ત ર. શાહ (૧૯૭૦)	૧૩=૦૦
૩૪૭	પંચદશી તાત્પર્ય—સ્વામી પ્રણવતીર્થજી (૧૯૭૧)	૬=૦૦
૩૪૮	અખો અને મધ્યકાલીન સંતપરંપરા—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. યો. જ. ત્રિપાઠી	૧૪=૫૦
૩૪૯	શ્રીમદ્ ભાગવત: ભાગ ૨—(સ્વ.) નાગરદાસ અ. પંખા (૧૯૭૨)	૧૧=૫૦
૩૫૦	ચરકનો સ્વાધ્યાય, ભાગ ૧—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. બાપાલાલ ગ. વૈષ (૧૯૭૩)	૨૬=૦૦
૩૫૧	ગુજરાતનો પોટરી ઉદ્યોગ—શ્રી. શાંતિલાલ પી. પુરોહિત (૧૯૭૫)	૮=૭૫
૩૫૨	ઉંડાણનો તાગ—શ્રી જોટુભાઈ સુથાર (૧૯૭૫)	૧૫=૦૦
૩૫૩	ભારતીય વીણા—(સ્વ.) પ્રો. રસિકલાલ એમ. પંખા (૧૯૭૮)	૩૧=૦૦
૩૫૪	ચરકનો સ્વાધ્યાય, ભાગ ૨—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. બાપાલાલ ગ. વૈષ (૧૯૭૯)	૯૬=૦૦
૩૫૫	ચાંપાનેર: એક અધ્યયન—ડૉ. રમણલાલ ના. મહેતા (૧૯૮૦)	૩૬=૦૦
૩૫૬	દ્વારકાના પ્રદેશનો સાંસ્કૃતિક ઇતિહાસ—(સ્વ.) શ્રી ક. ન. જોષી	૪૪=૦૦
૩૫૭	આધુનિક ગુજરાતના સંતો, ભાગ ૨—ડૉ. કેશવલાલ ઠક્કર (૧૯૭૯)	૪૫=૦૦
૩૫૮	સૂર્યશક્તિ—શ્રી. પદ્મકાન્ત ર. શાહ (૧૯૮૧)	૫૨=૫૦
૩૫૯	કવિ ગિરધર: જીવન અને કવન—ડૉ. દેવદત્ત જોશી	૫૧=૦૦
૩૬૦	વનોષધિકોશ—પ્રો. કે. કા. શાસ્ત્રી	૩૫=૭૫
૩૬૧	સહસ્રલિંગ અને રુદ્રમહાલય—(સ્વ.) શ્રી કનૈયાલાલ ભા. દવે	૭૯=૦૦
૩૬૨	વૈષ્ણવતીર્થ ડાકોર—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. મંજુલાલ ર. મજમુદાર	૪૮=૦૦
૩૬૧	વૃદ્ધત્રયી અને લઘુત્રયી—(સ્વ.) ડૉ. બાપાલાલ ગ. વૈષ	૩૩=૦૦
૩૬૩	વડોદરા એક અધ્યયન—ડૉ. આર. એન. મહેતા	૪૪=૦૦
૩૬૪	મહારાજ સયાજીરાવ ત્રીજા—(સ્વ.) પ્રો. હસિત બૂચ	૪૯=૦૦
૩૬૫	નાભાજીકૃત ભક્તમાલના ઐતિહાસિક ભક્તો—એક અધ્યયન— શ્રી મૂળશંકર હિ. કેવલીયા	૪૪=૦૦
૩૬૬	લેસર—શ્રી. પદ્મકાન્ત ર. શાહ	૪૮=૦૦
૩૬૭	આહારવિજ્ઞાન—(પુત: મુદ્રણ) ડૉ. જયશંકર ધ. પાઠક અને (સ્વ.) અનંતરાય મ. રાવળ (૧૯૯૧)	૬૦=૦૦

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રાજમહેલ રોડ, વડોદરા-૩૯૦ ૦૦૧

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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17. *Buddhist Precept and Practice* : Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon: by Richard F. Gombrich, pp. xv + 427, Price: Rs. 275-00.

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Introduction

The bibliography below deals with scholarly work on the *Pañcatantra* and derivative collections (*Kalila wa-Dimna*, Fables of Bidpai, *Anwâr-i Suhailî*, *Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen*, and many others) as well as other forms (quotations in other works, Indian fables found in other collections and the like) that that work took. Covered here are the sources of the *Pañcatantra*, its text tradition, some of the translations and *their* text traditions, the coming of the Panchatantric fables to Europe and Asia, but also specifically with the *Kalila wa-Dimna*, the *Anwâr-i Suhailî*, and other translations as pieces of literature in their own right. The period covered is roughly the past 150 years, although a few very important works published before the middle of the last century are included. 1985 is only partly done, and there are only a few works, generally found by happenstance, listed after that date.

The manuscript tradition of the *Pañcatantra* and the very many versions and adaptations and in fact most translations, are not well served in these pages. There exists unfortunately no comprehensive manuscript listing, but a significant number of works dealing with the various manuscript traditions (include a number of manuscript finding lists) are to be found here. Works dealing directly with a specific manuscript or group of manuscripts from the Panchatantric tradition are included here, but museum catalogs and other incidental listings of manuscripts as part of a general inventory (often the only listing of obscure manuscripts) would have required a bibliography many times this size.¹

A fairly large number of editions and a few translations are included, but both of these categories are generally limited to those that contain materials furthering the scholarship of the Indian fable. Thus primary editions are included naturally, but many of the numerous more popular editions of the fables are generally excluded. I have tried to include at least one version or edition of each major recension and often one or two translations into major languages (usually the earliest or the most representative example in each case). This has meant the unfortunate exclusion of whole classes of materials such as children's editions of single fables or short illustrated collections (both very large groups,

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1. An excellent listing of the major listings of manuscripts for the *Kalila wa-Dimna* and its European derivatives as well as other materials is to be found in Isidoro Montiel, *Historia y Bibliografía de 'Kalila y Dimna'* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1975. For the Indian manuscripts, see especially the works of Artola, Hertel and Edgerton. Other manuscript listings can be found by reference to the index at the end of this bibliography.

and very much in need of study) as well as a number of unannotated popular editions of collections with significant numbers of Indian fables.² The absence of works in these pages from these categories does not in any way suggest that those works are unimportant. To the contrary, the reception of the Indian fable—in India and all over the world—depends precisely upon these sources. It is just these sorts of materials that are ultimately responsible for the transmission of motifs today. I am unaware of any work that deals with these problems.

Because of space limitations this bibliography was originally to be an unannotated one, but with some materials so obviously more important than others it was felt that some sort of annotation might be in order. Many entries, then, appear with annotations of at least an indication of the contents of the citation, where this is not immediately obvious from the title. However, the presence or absence of an annotation does not necessarily comment upon the value of the work. Some few were unavailable to me, and, with some few exceptions, editions or translations are generally not annotated. More annotations are to be found in my *Fable Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985) which contains some 1453 works on the fable; and in the forthcoming second volume to that work, with roughly 2000 more. These two volumes, however, do not list most of the editions nor any of the translations dealt with here.

Within the annotations, reference is frequently made to Aesopic fables and the Aesopic tradition as well as to Indian fables. References made to the Aesopic forms are accompanied by a "Perry number" representing the fable within the corpus of Aesopica as defined by Ben Edwin Perry in his monumental collection of classical fables, *Aesopica*.³ Thus "P613" refers to the fable "Belling the Cat," known in the Aesopic corpus rather late, but in the Indian fables quite early on. There is no real counterpart work or index to the Indian fables, but Stith Thompson and J. Balys, 1958. *The Oral Tales of India* and Stith Thompson and Warren E. Roberts, *Types of Indic Oral Tales: India, Pakistan and Ceylon* are used when appropriate. Some of the fables and other pieces are also given Aarne-Thompson Folktale Type numbers (signaled by A-T plus number).⁴ There are also occasional internal references from one work to another, marking with "see" or (q.v.), the first of these suggesting a work

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2. Also not covered in these pages, are any of the very many other forms the Indian fable might take. Films based upon these motifs are not listed nor are other versions in other media.
 3. (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1951).
 4. Refers to Annti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale* Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Sciences, 19XX.

that either continues the idea developed or strongly contrasts with it. The later (q.v.) points out other materials on the same subject.

The work is incomplete of course. All bibliographies are doomed to being outdated the minute they come to light. But to help alleviate this problem in future editions, let me request that any citations not found here be brought to my attention. Sending along a copy of the work if possible would be a great help in maintaining as complete a record as possible. I would also very much appreciate any citations of work forthcoming or recently published and not found in this initial listing.

Abbreviations

- ALB : *Adyar Library Bulletin.*
- DAI : *Dissertation Abstracts International.*
- JAOS : *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
- JOI : *Journal of the Oriental Institute [Baroda].*
- WZKM : *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
- ZDMG : *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.*

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Text in Persian with an introduction in English.
9. Abdalla ben Almocata, trans. 1959 [second edition]. *Calila y Dimna: Version castellana 1261?* (=Coleccion Cristol, no. 99.) Madrid: Aguilar. 480 pp.
10. Von Adelburg, Ed. 1855. *Auswahl türkischer Erzählungen aus dem "Humajunname".... von Salih Sade Ali Efendi .. Urtext und vollständiger Übersetzung*. Vienna. xiv + 80 pp.

Contains selected fables from the Humâyûnâma, one of two main Turkish versions, each with numerous sub-species, translated from the Persian *Anwâri-t-Suhaili*

See: Ethé 1883.

11. Acharya, N. R. 1950. *Pañcatantra*. Introduction in English by D. D. Kosambi. Bombay: Satyabhamabai Pandurang for the Nirnaya Sagar Press. 4 + 4 + 354 + 20 pp.
12. Adrados, Francisco Rodriguez. 1980. "La fábula de la golondrina de Grecia a India y la Edad media." *Emerita* 48, 185-208.

A study of P39 "Wise Swallow and the Birds" (also P447, P437A, and P614; A-T 233D) emphasizing its changes through various versions in Greek, Latin and the Indian forms.

13. Adrados, Francisco Rodriguez. 1984. "The Earliest Influences of Indian Fable upon Medieval Latin Writing." *Classica et Mediaevalia* 35, 243-263.

Traces the influence of the Indian fable (via Arabic forms) upon Western literature earlier than the usual dating (mid-thirteenth century); a tradition that is independent of the transmission lines of works as the *Pañcatantra* (as the *Kalila wa-Dimna*), the *Sendebär*, *Barlaam and Josaphat* and other Indo-Persian-Arabic works. Adrados espouses the "Aesopic" view of the animal epic; i.e., that although there are traces of local tradition and other influences, the fables found in the *Roman de Renart* come from the Aesopic tradition. Other medieval works also stand in this tradition: the fables of Marie de France, the *Speculum stultorum* and especially the fables of Odo of Cheriton. While not denying the importance of Western sources, Adrados finds this sort of fable literature is based upon the Indian fable tradition. The narrating of a fable within the framework of another is an Indian trait and totally discordant with the Greco-Latin tradition.

14. Agrawala, V. S. 1959. "A Difficult Passage in the *Pañcatantra*: *Lakṣmī-vidambanam*." *JOI* 8: 4, 333-342.

Discusses twelve line (on the fickleness of Fortune) from the *Pañcatantra* by analysis of four versions or translations: the *Pañcatantra-Tantrakhyāyika* in the Johannes Hertel edition (Hertel [1909] 1910, q.v.); The *Pañchākhyānaka* (= Pūrṇabhadra's *Pañcatantra*) also edited by Hertel (198a, q.v.); the *Pañcatantra* of Vishnusaṁman edited by Parab (Parab 1902, below); and the Gujarati translation of the *Pañcatantra* edited by Sandesara (1949, q.v.). These are compared to the same passage in Edgerton's edition in the earliest form (Edgerton 1927, below), his reconstruction and his translation. Several possible alternative readings and especially double-entendre are suggested.

15. Ahrens, Hermann. 1920. *Die Fabel vom Löwen und der Maus in der Weltliteratur*. Dissertation: Rostock.

Traces the history of P150. "Lion and Mouse" (A-T 75) from its earliest mention through the eighteenth century. The Indian versions are covered first with the earliest clear evidence for the fable dating from the fifth century, A.D., although this clearly reflective of an earlier tradition.

16. Alemany Bolufer, Jose. 1895. *Hitopadesa*. Granada.

Spanish translation.

17. Alemany Bolufer, Jose. 1908, *Panchatantra; o, Cinco series de cuentos*. (=Biblioteca clasica, no. 219.) Madrid: Perlado, Puez y ca. xvi + 416 pp.

Spanish translation.

18. Alemany Bolufer, Jose. 1915. *La antigua version castellana del Calila y Dimna cotejada con el original árabe de la misma*. Madrid: Real academia española. xxxvi + 504 pp.

19. Allen, Clifford G. 1906. *L'ancienne version espagnole de Kalila et Digna, texte des mss. del 'Escorial, précédé d'un avant-propos et suivi d'un glossaire*, Thesis: Univ. de Paris; Paris-Mâcon: Protat frères. xix + 228 pp.

Text, with introduction.

20. Alphonso-Karkala, John B. 1975. "Some Facets of Panchatantra." *Indian Literature* (New Delhi) 18: 2, 73-91.

Deals with the *Pañcatantra* and its narrative matrix as a political science treatise, by examination of some of the literary relationships among the works directly or indirectly affected by it, together with an evaluation of its possible impact on political philosophy, especially upon of the Early Italian Renaissance. Machiavelli, Kautiya and George Orwell are the test environments.

21. Alsdorf, L. 1950. "Pañcatantra-Miszellen." *ZDMG* 100, 356 ff. Textual notes to various versions.

22. Amalî, Hasen Hasanzâdabi, ed. 1962. *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. Baghdad 40 + 582 pp.

23. Apte, Mahadeva Shivarâma. 1894. *A Popular Edition of the First Tantra*. Poona: Hari Naryan. With a glossary and a literal translation. (See Arden below.)

24. Arden, Albert Henry. 1893. *The Pañcatantra in Tamil: A Companion Reader to Arden's Progressive Tamil Grammar*. 2 vols, Madras and London.

25. Arjunwadkar, Leela. 1985. "Women in Didactic Fable and Popular Tales in Sanskrit." *Gen : Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 65, 155-161.

Sees threefold attitude towards women in Sanskrit literature, the Kāvya-literature with an idealized view, the Darmaśāstra with its realistic portrayal, and that found in the didactic fable which generally expresses an extremely cynical, prejudiced viewpoint, with a very low estimate of women, Arjunwadkar finds much of the worst of Indian society with regard to women reflected in the *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*, although there are rarely, situations in which women are treated fairly.

See Chapoutot-Remadi 1975.

26. Artola, George T. 1955. "El Libro de los Gatos: An Orientalist's View of its Title." *Romance Philology* 9, 17-19.

Suggests that the "cat" in the title might refer to cats playing the false ascetic (cf. P592) in the fables of the *Pañcatantra*, though the fable of the friendship between the cat and the mouse and other pieces may have ultimately derived from the *Mahābhārata*.

27. Artola, George T. 1957a. "Bidpai Manuscripts from Istanbul and Tehran." *ALB* 21, 37-53.

Deals with forty-nine manuscripts of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* collected at a number of libraries in Istanbul and Tehran in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. The manuscripts are grouped according to version: the Arabic of Ibn al-Muqaffa of circa A.D. 750; the Persian translation of Nasrullah; the Anwār-i Suhaili of Kashifi; the *Hamāyūn-nāma* of Ali Chelebi composed in the 16th century; and a prose translation made by Kul Mas ud.

28. Artola, George T. 1957b. "Pañcatantra Manuscripts from South India." *ALB* 21, 185-262.

Deals with the lack of a critical edition of the Southern *Pañcatantra* and describes 89 manuscripts from various libraries and 17 manuscripts of Nārāyaṇa's *Hitopadeśa* (which stands in a close relationship to the Southern *Pañcatantra*, containing most of the poetic portions of the latter). The single manuscript of the *Tantropākhyāna*, three Kannada manuscripts of the *Pañcatantra* of Durgasimha and the unicum of the Tamil recension of the *Tantropākhyāna* of Vasubhāga are described. Further details of manuscripts of the Southern *Pañcatantra* include two Malayalam translations, manuscripts of the Tamil translations (there are at least three separate translations), four Telugu translations, and still other Kannada

translations and adaptations and a further 71 manuscripts are listed as belonging to one of these latter traditions.

29. Artola, George T. 1959. "A Dated Manuscript of the Pañcatantra of Vasubhāga." *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalistenkongresses*. Wiesbaden pp. 538-540.

A description of the Trivandrum manuscript and its contents.

30. Artola, George T. 1963. "A New Pañcatantra Text." *Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume*. Ed. J. H. Dave, H. D. Velankar, Asoke K. Majmudar and H. C. Bhayani. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. pp. 76-95.

31. Artola, George T. 1965. "Ten Tales from the Tāntropākhyāna." *ALB* 29: 1-4, 30-73.

An edition of ten tales from the *Tāntropākhyāna*, an unusual southern version of the *Pañcatantra*, with a critical introduction and English versions of the tales appended. The tales are edited from the Trivandrum manuscript of *Tāntropākhyāna*, which is incomplete, but which contains at least fifteen new tales embedded into the frame. Some of these are true fables, e.g. "The King who had Leprosy" (similar in theme to P627 "Philomela the Nightingale and the Bowman").

32. Artola, George T. 1967-1968. "The Oldest Sanskrit Fables." *ALB* 32, 281-312.

Discussion of the meaning of Bhoja's term *nidarśana* (fable, allegory, parable), tested by the criteria of the fable as given by Perry in "Fable" (*Studium Generale* [1959] 12, 17-370). Three stages are seen: (1) the oldest parts of the *Mahābhārata*, where they are found only incidentally in the epic material proper. Modern editions allow for differentiation of the fables in the original and those added later; (2) fables are found gathered together for purposes of religious propaganda (here are meant the *Jātakas* and other similar texts); (3) a period when the fable writers came to regard their works as literature in its own right. Here Bhoja refers to the *Pañcatantra* (including the *Hitopadeśa* and the *Tāntropākhyāna*). Eight are found in the oldest material. Two are told by Sisupāla ("The Hypocritical *Hamsa*," and the "Bird called *Bhūlinga*") and two by Vidura ("Bird with Golden Dung," and "Goat and Knife.") These four represent the oldest literary fables in the corpus of Sanskrit literature. In some traditions Vidura narrates four more fables.

33. Atil, Esin. 1981. *Kalila wa Dimna : Fables from a Fourteenth-Century Arabic Manuscript*. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 95 pp.

Introduction, translations and color illustrations. Good bibliography.

34. Avery, Myrtille. 1941. "Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai and of the Life of Aesop in the Pierpont Morgan Library." *The Art Bulletin* 23, 103-116.

An extensive and detailed study of the Illustrations to the *Kalila wa Dimna* and the *Vita Aesopi* in the late tenth century manuscript (M397). (The fables had been edited by Husselman 1939, q.v.) The Illustrations are similar to South Italian miniatures.

35. Ayyar, Aiylam Subramanier, ed. and trans. 1931. *Panchatantra and Hitopadesa Stories*. Bombay : D. B. Taraporevala, viii + 219 pp.
36. Azzâm, 'Abd al Wahhâd, ed. 1973. *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, n.p. 37 + 344 pp.
37. Bahai, Faïd Allad. 1899. *Kalilat wa Dimnat*. Bombay : Matb'ad al Nami. Edition of the second versification of *Kalila wa-Dimna* (see
38. Balasubramanian, Alladi Sarada. 1976. "The Immortal Panchatantra." *Indian Horizons* [New Delhi] 25: 1-2, 81-86.

A popular introduction to the *Pañcatantra* and its derivatives, with a discussion of each of the five books, and a short discussion of P 188/P 358 "Ass in Lion's Skin."

39. Balbir, Nalini. 1985. "The Monkey and the Weaver-Bird : Jaina Versions of a Pan-Indian Tale." *JAOS* 105 : 1 119-134.

A very detailed study of the fable of the monkey and the weaverbird still found all over India as well as in the three main religious traditions: Hindu, Buddhist Jaina; and in three languages: Sanskrit (*Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*), Pali (*Jātakas* and *Dhammapada-atthakathā*) and Prakṛt (*Avaśyaka* and the *Kalpa* traditions). In all these cases the tale is used to illustrate different teachings.

40. Baloch, N. A. 1961. "The Origin of *Kalila w-Dimna*." *Sind Research Journal, Arts Series : Humanities and Social Sciences* I, 1621.

Describes the history of the *Kāliloh wa-Dimna* from Ibn al-Muqaffa' translation from the Persian version, traditionally ascribed to "Barzawaih"

(6th century) from some sort of an Indian original. Takes issue with the consensus that the *Kalila wa-Dimna* is descended from the *Pañcatantra*. The introductory material containing the "Indian connection" is called into question. That the *Kalila-wa-Dimna* and the *Pañcatantra* have fables of Indian origin in common is ascribed to the Persian (and thus, then, the Arabic) versions working from a common store of such fables generally carried by Buddhists and others to the Persian border. Some of these are also known in Greek versions which do not seem to be dependent upon Indian forms. Concludes that the Persian or Pahlavi version upon which the *Kalilah wa-Dimna* is dependent, was an original work and earlier than the *Pañcatantra*.

41. Bareh, Hamlet. 1971. *Khasi Fables and Folktales*. Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 87 pp.

42. Barnett, Lionel. 1924. "Introduction." *Hitopadesa : The Book of Good Counsel*. Translated by Francis Johnson. London : Chapman and Hall.

Traces a brief history of the *Hitopadesa* and its complex relationship to the *Pañcatantra*. Provides textual notes to the tradition and notes critical to the translation, justifying a rewrite and re-casting of the 1848 Johnson translation.

43. Barua, B. K. 1964. "Animal in the Jataka Stories." *Journal of the Assam Research Society* 15, 74-82.

Simple listing of some of the animals to be found in the *Jātakas*, including a number of fables. Texts are referred to by number, but no edition is cited.

44. Bassan, Fernande. 1970. "La Fontaine, heritier d'Esopé et de Pilpay." *Comparative Literature Studies* 7, 161-178.

La Fontaine's sources are discussed, particularly those sources for the later books of fables among which some twenty fables are identified as having the fables of "Pilpai." There is also some discussion of the "non-Oriental" fables in the later books.

45. Basset, René. 1879. "Poème de Cabl en dialecte chelba." *Journal Asiatique* 13, 476-508.

On a fragment of the *Kalila wa-Dimana* in Berber. Grammatical notes, lexical studies, text, transliteration into Roman, and translation into French.

46. Basset, René. 1890. *Loqmân Berbère*. Paris

An edition of the so-called fables of "Loqman" in Berber.

47. Bastian, A. 1864. "Einige Fabeln aus dem siamesischen Nonthuk-Pakkaram." *Orient und Occident* 3, 479-498.

Publishes a few fables from the Thai version of the *Pañcatantra*, the *Nonthuk-Pakkaranam*. A series of texts with little analysis or discussion, but with a few notes furnished by the editor of the journal. The Thai *Pañcatantra* is significantly reworked to emphasise the Buddhist connection.

48. Battifol, Pierre. 1889. "Un manuscrit de Stephanitis." *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes Rendus*, 4th Series, no. 16.

49. Baum, Paul Franklin, 1919. "The Fable of Belling the Cat." *Modern Language Notes* 34, 462-470. Reprinted in *Proverbial in Fabula: Essays on the Relationship of the Proverb and the Fable*. Ed. Pack Carnes (Bern: Lang, 1988), 37-46.

An exhaustive historical survey of P613 "Belling the Cat" (A-T 110) from the *Kalila* and *Dimna* (apparently the earliest known version; although the fable is not always with this collection), through the fifteenth century. The earliest version in the West is that of Odo of Cheriton, and Baum lists the Old French and other medieval versions in an attempt to define the relationships all these have to the fable as found in *Piers Plowman*. The suggestion is made that the *Piers Plowman* poet might have known the fable from either a manuscript form, perhaps Odo's fables, or from oral tradition.

50. Beeston, A. F. L. 1954. "The 'Ali Ibn Shâh preface to *Kalilaw wa Dimnah*." *Oriens* 7, 81-84.

Calls into question the authenticity of the preface of the Arabic *Kalila wa-Dimna*. The introductory chapter is ascribed to a certain Bahnûd ibn Sahwân, also known as 'Ali ibn al-Shâh the Persian.

51. Beeston, A. F. L., et al. 1982. *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Especially pp. 374-386 and 482-493.

Deals extensively with fables, beginning with the difficulty of recovering texts. Prototypes of the ancient fables are demonstrated with a discussion

of Luqmān. The *Kalila wa-Dimna* translation by al-Muqaffa' is important not only for its fables and in its great influence as the transmitter of the materials of the *Pañcatatra*, but also as the starting point of the Arabic "Mirrors for Princes" literature. (The *Kalila wa-Dimna* also served as the basis of the translation back into New Persian by the Samanid Poet Rūdakī. d. 90)

52. Benfey, Theodor. 1859. *Pantschatantra : Fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen* Leipzig. Re-edited and reworked by Karin Fitzenreiter. 1978. Berlin : Rütten und Loenig. 435 pp.

A German translation of the *Pañcatantra*. The extensive introduction is a classic statement of Benfey's theory of the migration of story materials. The translation and the introduction is now completely superseded, but still quoted.

53. Benfey, Theodor. 1862. "Über die alte deutsche auf Befehl des Grafen Eberhardt von Württemberg abgefasste Übersetzung des *Kalila und Dimnah*, insbesondere deren ältesten Druck und dessen Verhältnis zu der spanischen Übersetzung." *Orient und Occident* 1, 138-187.

54. Benfey, Theodor. 1876. "Einleitung." *Kalilag und Damnah: Alle syrische übersetzung des indischen fürstenspiegels*. Text und deutsche übersetzung von Gustav Bickell. Leipzig: Brockhaus. pp. 1-cxlvii.

See: Bickell 1879.

55. Ben Ghazi M. F. 1957. "Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa." Dissertation: Paris.

On, among much else, the *Kalila wa-Dimna* and its influence on subsequent literature, even to La Fontaine.

56. Bertlosao, Stella J. 1971. "A Origen de fabula." *Revista de Historia* [San Paulo] 42, 175-182.

The origin of the fable is to be found in India, although there is no attempt at describing possible transmission lines nor definition of the exact reasons for that conclusion.

57. Bethlenfalvy, G. 1965. "Three Pañcatantra Tales in an Unedited Commentary to the Tibetan Subhāṣitaratnanidhi." *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 18, 31-38.

After a brief summary of the intricate descent of *Pañcatantra* material which made their way to Mongolia and Tibet, Bethlenfalvy

publishes three tales from the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi Commentary* on the basis of a manuscript from Ulaanbaatar together with the closest Indian versions, and translations into English of all versions, followed by a commentary. Includes Tibetan versions of A-T 924 (closer, however, to Thompson and Balys : *Oral Tales of India* K 1716), not an Aesopic, but an Indian fable; and of P 188 "Ass in Lion's Skin" (A-T 214 B) here a panther skin. Points out that although P 188 is found all over, the Tibetan version is clearly derived from the Indian. In other versions, tigers, lions or panthers are found. In the *Hitopadeśa* text, the introductory verse mentions a panther (*dvipin*), the prose fable has a tiger (*vyāghra*).

58. Bethlenfalvy, G. 1970. "The Mongolian and Tibetan Versions of the Hare and the Lion." *Mongolian Studies*. Ed. L. Ligeti. Budapest. pp. 93-102.
59. Bethlenfalvy, G. 1973. "The Pañcatantra in Hungary." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27, 127-129.
60. Bhalla, Alok. 1985. "A Historical Map for a World of Fables." *Journal of Arts and Ideas* 10-11, 94-131.
61. Bickell, Gustav. 1879. *Kaliag und Damag: alte syrische Übersetzung des indischen Fürstenspiegels*. Leipzig.

Bickell edits and translates the Old Syriac (ca. 570) translation of the Pahlavi version of Burzoe's *Pañcatantra*. Burzoe's version was compiled under the reign of the Sasanian king Khusraw Anūsharwan with a Pahlavi version of the original *Pañcatantra* and the addition more fables from other Indian sources (some from the *Mahābhārata*, some from sources not yet identified. Burzoe's translation is lost, but the very early Syriac version, which survives in only one manuscript, compiled by Periodeutes Būd, is given here (from a modern, somewhat defective copy of that unique manuscript) with an introduction by Theodor Benfey.

See: Schulthess 1911 for a better edition.

62. Bissondayal, B. 1959. "La Fontaine's Debt to the East." *Contemporary Review* 1118 (Feb.), 126-128.

Describes La Fontaine's familiarity with the East, here specifically the fables of "Pilpay," much admired by La Fontaine.

63. Bissondayal, B. 1965. "Early Influence of Indian Literature in France." *Calcutta Review* 174, 26-44.

Mentions the influence of the *Pañcatantra* in various versions upon France's fabulists, most specifically La Fontaine.

64. Blatt, Heinrich. 1930a. *Das südliche Pañcatantra*. Leipzig.

An edition of the so-called "a-recension" of the Southern *Pañcatantra*, considered the closest to the original, but not edited by Hertel because of its fragmentary (Hertel edited the "b" recension with readings from "a" in his apparatus). Blatt uses primarily the palmleaf manuscript from Madras (Hertel's "K,") which has survived in very poor condition and with significant portions of the beginning and the end missing. See Artola 1957b.

65. Blatt, Heinrich. 1930b. *Nârâyaṇa: Hitopadeśa nach der nepalischen Handschrift N neu herausgegeben*. Berlin.

66. Bloomfield, Maurice. 1916. "On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction, and the Laugh and Cry Motif." *JAOS* 36, 54-89.

Included among these "Psychic Motifs" are the *Pañcatantra* fables "Jackel and Cave" (see Ryder, *The Pañcatantra* "The Cave that Talked,") "Tortoise and Birds" (as in La Fontaine), "the Brahman's Goat" (Ryder, 324-326), "Monkey and the Crocodile" (Ryder, 381-388, more commonly known as the Crocodile and the Monkey's Heart).

67. Bloomfield, Maurice. 1919. "The fable of the crow and the palm: A psychic motif in Hindu Fiction." *American Journal of Philology* 40, 1-36.

Deals with now-lost "Hindu" fable which appears in truncated form in literature. The fable, "pertaining to the crow and the palm tree," has the crow alighting on a palm tree just as the tree is about to fall, making it appear that the crow causes the tree to fall. Bloomfield's thesis is that this is an important "psychic motif" in Hindu Fiction. A number of other fables in the same category are discussed.

68. Bloomfield, Maurice. 1924. "On false Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction." *JAOS* 44, 202-242.

Among much else, deals with a number of variants of the fable cycle "Wolf in Monk's Cassock," known in Europe especially through the *Extravagantes* and the *Roman de Renart*. In both the European and the Indian versions are found the cat as "False Ascetic," see, e.g. P. 592 "Cat as Monk," known from the *Pañcatantra* and a number of its derivatives, as well as a series of *Jātakas*.

69. Bodemann, Ulrike. 1985. "Die Cyrillustafeln und ihre deutsche Übersetzung durch Ulrich von Pottenstein: Textform—Überlieferung—Übersetzungsprobleme—Rezeption. Mit einer Editionsprobe." Disserta-

tion, Münster. Published 1988. *Die Cyrillus Fabeln und ihre deutsche Übersetzung des Ulrichs von Pottenstein: Untersuchungen und Editionsprobe.* (=Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur detuschen Literatur des Mittelalters, no. 93.) München: Artemis

70. Bdker, Laurits, ed. 1951-1953. *De gamle vijses exemplar oc hoffsprock (1618) af Christian Nielsen.* 2 vols. (= Universitetsjubilaets danske samfunds skrifttrekke, nos. 356 and 361.) Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz.

An edition of the first Danish translation of the *Pañcatantra*.

71. Bdker, Laurits. 1957. *Indian Animal Tales: A Preliminary Survey.* Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica. (= Folklore Fellows Communications, no. 170.)

An attempt to systematize the Indian animal tales and some additional materials, including many fables, available in the Danish Archives. Types are arbitrarily assigned by function; TMI numbers are given wherever applicable.

72. Boltz, August. 1868. *Ausgewählte Fabeln des Hitopadeśa im Urtexte nebst metrikischer deutscher Übersetzung.* Leipzig.
73. Bossong, Georg. 1976. "Sémantique et structures textuelles dans le livre de 'Calila et Dimna': Essai de théorie textuelle appliqué." *Cahiers linguistique hispanique médiévale* 4, 173-203.

An empirical study and structural analysis of the "espaces et sous-espaces textuels" of the *Libro de Calila e Digna*, using the edition of Keller and Linker (q.v.), with direct comparison to its two sources, direct and indirect: the *Kitāb Kalila wa-Dimna* of Ibn al-Muqaffa' (in the edition of Husayn 1941, q.v.) and the *Pañcatantra*. Very detailed comparison, using material from the first Tantra, with indexing according to the French of Miquel (q.v.).

74. Bothmer, Hans-Caspar. 1981. *Kalila und Dimna: Ibn al-Muqaffa's Fabelbuch in einer mittelalterlichen Bilderhandschrift Cod. arab. 616 der bayrischen Staatsbibliothek München.* Wiesbaden; Reichert.
75. Boyce, Mary. 1955-56. "The Indian Fables in the Letter of Tansar." *Asiatic Major* N.S. 5, 50-58.

The two fables in the Pahlavi *Letter of Tansar*, now known only in a Persian translation, are studied to illuminate Indian influence on Sassanian literature. The fables display the Indian trait of a story within a frame story. One of the fables is traced back to Kashmiri versions, the other to the *Pañcatantra* and the Book of Sinbad.

76. Brandes, J. J. 1891. "Het onderzoek naar den oorsprong van de Maleische Hikayat Kalila dah Damina." *Festbundel aan Professor M. J. de Goeje*. Leiden. Pp. 77-110.

An attempt to determine the precise Pañcatantra version which served as the source of the Malay *Hikayet Kalila dah Damina*.

See next entry.

77. Brandes, J. J. 1931. "Het problem van de Maleische Hikayat Kalilah dan Daminah." *Tijdschrift voor indische taal-, land-, en volkenkunde* 73 172-185.

78. Breasted, John Henry. 1922. "The Tales of Kalila and Dimnna." *Oriental Institute Communications* 1, 82-87.

79. Brengues, Jean. 1908. "Une Version laotienne du Pañcatantra." *Journal Asiatique* 12, 357-395; with a commentary by Johannes Hertel: "Le Mullatantra et le Pañcatantra" (397-434).

Deals with the *Nang Mulla-Tantai*, an edition of Laotian tales of Indian origin, which exists in four versions. Fifteen fables are reproduced in French translation. Hertel describes the manuscript tradition and provenance of the materials, with full apparatus.

80. Brockelmann, Carl. 1926. "Fabeln und Tiermärchen in der älteren arabischen Literatur." *Islamica* 2, 96-128.

Begins with foreign influences upon the *Amtal lugman al Hakim* and the *Kalili and Dimna*, the two most important fable collections of Arabic literature. Important uses of the fable in earlier literature are pointed out. Pays special attention to a number of fables including some known earliest from this tradition, such as P 613 "Belling the Cat" (A-T 110), known in Arabic literature from at least 750 A.D., and suggests that some of the fables known from the Greek might find parallels in the Arabic collections that are closer to the Greek than those of the modern received corpus of Aesopica.

81. Brockelmann, Carl. 1978. "Kalila wa-Dimna." *The Encyclopedia of Islam*. Vol. 3. Leiden: Brill. pp. 503-506.

Comprehensive historical account of the *Pañcatantra* in Islamic lands, from the earliest translation into Pahlavi in the sixth century and the Old Syriac versions (ca. 570), through the Ibn al 'Muqaffa' Arabic translation (and later versions as well as later Arabic versifications), the later Syriac translation and the Persian versions, to the Turkic translations. Numerous

other versions are described in terms of these works: the Hebrew twelfth century work by Rabbi Jô'el from the Arabic of Ibn al-Muqfî'a' which was then turned into a Latin version by John of Capua ca. 1270; Gualmier's 1664 translation from the Arabic into French (some of which found its way into La Fontaine's *Fables*); and various Greek forms, especially Stephanites kai Ichneutes, well as Malay translations. Translations of the Hitôpadesa, a later Sanskrit version of the *Pancatantra*, into Persian which was then translated into Hindûstânî, and Malay translations of Ibn al-Mukaffâ's Arabic text mixed with a Tamil version round out the historical accounting, and further sections deal with imitations of the *Kalilah wa Dimna* and with its place in Muslim art. Excellent bibliography for texts and translations.

82. Brodeur, Arthur Gilchrist. 1924. "The Fable of the Grateful Lion" *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 39, 485-524

The Androcles and the Lion (P 563, A-T 156) story is described as an historical event, elaborated upon by Apion the Egyptian. The story is traced through the medieval Europe to Chrétien's *Yvain*. Indian forms and other European materials are called upon to make the connections.

83. Brown, William N. [1916] 1919. *The Panchatantra in Modern Indian Folklore*. Dissertation: The Johns Hopkins University. Printed in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 39, 1-54.

Compares various motifs from chapter 1 of the *Pañcatantra* to similar motifs found in oral sources as recorded in very uneven modern collections of Indian folktales, with mixed results.

84. Brown, William N. 1922. "A Comparative Translation of the Arabic Kalila wa-Dimna, Chapter VI." *JAOS* 42, 215-250.

A translation of "Crow, Ringdove, Mouse, Tortoise and Deer." using the arabic manuscripts (Chielko 1905 text, there chapter VI), the *Pañcatantra* (Book II), various other Arabic sources, New Syriac, Hebrew (Jacob ben Eleazar, in Derenbourg 1881, q.v.) with notes to further sources.

85. Buchthal, Hugo, 1941. "Indian Fables in Islamic Art." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1941, 317-324.

86. Bühler, Georg. (First edition, n.d., n.p [1868], 4th. ed, 1891. *Pañcatantra : II and III; IV-V, with Notes*. (Bombay Sanskrit Series, no. 1). Bombay: Oriental Press. xi + 87; iii + 84 pp. + 16 plates.

87. Bukkyô Setsuwa Taikei Henshû linkai. 1981. *Jyâtaka monogatari* I. Tokyo: Suzuki Shuppan. 348 pp.

88. Bulgakov, T. J. 1877. *Stephanite i Ichnilate*. St. Petersburg.

89. Busson, H. 1944. "Sur deux fables orientales de La Fontaine." *Revue d'Alger* 1944, 69 ff.
 90. Cagdas, Kemal, ed. 1962. *Pancatantra masssallari*. (= Dil ve Tarih Cografyn, Fakültesi yayinlari, no. 137) ankara : Ankjara Universiti Basimevi. 84 pp.
- Selections from a Turkish version of the Pañcatantra.
91. Carter, Albert Howard, III. 1975. "Spirit and Narrative : A Jungian Look at Two Jataka Tales." *Literature of East and West* 19: 1-4, 139-145.
 Quotes one fable : "Jackel and Elephant" (Jātaka 148), for a "Jungian" analysis.
 92. Cerulli, Entico. 1964. "The Kalilah wa-Dimnah and the Ethiopic Book of Barlaam and Josaphet." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 9, 75-99.
 On the relationship between the two works, beginning with the premise that the Kalila wa-Dimna was translated into Ethiopic, as had been previously asserted. Cerulli discovers that there are only two sections from the Kalila wa-Dimna in the manuscript in question.
 93. Ceskoslovenske akademie ved. 1961. *Pravidlo lidskeho zivota; k vydainu pripravi a uvod napsal Milan Kopecky*. Prague : Nakl. Ceskoslovenske akademie ved.
 94. Chalita, Sfair. 1965. *Calila y Dimna*. Ibaguè Columbia : Editorial Tolina.
 95. Chand, Tara 1973. *Panchākhyānah*. (= H. M. Shahanshan of Iran Fund Series, no. 6). Tehran. 46 + 352 + 16 pp. + plates.
 Edition of Mustafā Khāliqdās 'Abbāsī's Persian translation, with Persian and English introductions.
 96. Chand, Tara and S. A. H. Abidi. 1964. "Pañchakhyāna : A Persian Translation of the Pañchatantra." *Anuwad* 1, 11-18.

A description of the unique manuscript of a Persian translation of the *Pañcatantra* by Mustafā Khāliqdād 'Abbāsī found in the National Museum, New Delhi (no. 62,1005, 372 folios, defective). The translation was undertaken after the famous Burzoe translation through which the *Pañcatantra* came to the rest of the world. The Sanskrit original from which 'Abbāsī worked is tentatively identified as a Jaina recension, corresponding to Edgerton's second category of transmission, the Ur-Tan-Trakhyānika which gave rise to the Tantrakhyāyika of Kashmir and the

Pañchākhyānaka of Pūrṇabhadra. The translation also shows evidence of being closer to those forms than any other recension. On this basis the recension and in turn the translation can be dated approximately as after 1582. The authors offer the opinion that the translation was not a great success, which accounts for this manuscript being a unicum.

See next entry.

97. Chand, Tara and S. A. H. Abidi. 1965. "Pañchākhyāna: A Unique and Unknown Persian translation of the Pañchatantra." *Islamic Culture* 39, 29-39.

Contains an extensive listing of translations and adaptations of the *Pañcatantra* as a preface to the description of the Panchākhyāna made in the 16th century by Mustafā Khāliqdād, the unique and defective manuscript of which was discovered by the authors in the National Museum in New Delhi (no. 62 1005, with 372 folios. The Sanskrit at the basis of this translation is lost, but the authors suggest that it was a Jaina version, since it is the only one not to use "-tantra" in its title.

98. Chapoutot-Remadi, Mounira. 1975. "L'Image de la femme dans Kalilah-wa Dimnah." *Cahiers de Tunisie* 23 [nos. 91-92], 17-39.

An intensive analysis of the women and of the animals with female characteristics (lion, panther, dove, etc.) in the *Kalilah wa-Dimna*. Begins with an attempt to describe the bias from the early Sanskrit that are refashioned by the Islamic *Kalila wa-Dimna*, so as to allow a quantitative evaluation of the role of women.

See Arjunwadkar 1985.

99. Cheikho, Louis. 1904 [8th edition 1969] *Kirāb Kalila wa-dimna : tab'atun madrasiyyatun mabniyyatun 'alā aqdama nushatin mahtūtatin mu'arrahatin 'uniya bi-tanquihihā wa-nasarahā ma'a sarhi alfāzihā al-abu Luwis Sayhū al-Yaū'i*. Beirut. [See next entry].

100. Cheikho, Louis. 1905 [2nd rev. ed. 1923]. *La Version arabe de Kalilah et Dimnah, ou les fables de Bidpai, d'après le plus ancien manuscrit arabe, avec une préface, des additions et des notes critiques et linguistiques*. Beirut : Imprimerie Catholique [2nd Rev. ed. : 1923]. Catholique.

Chielko uses as the basis for this edition a valuable manuscript from the year 1339 in the monastery Dayr al-Shir in Lebanon, described along with extensive notes in the preface to the volume. See T. Husayn and 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzaām 1941 for an even earlier manuscript.

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Plate-1

Photo micrograph of Senuwar Copper wire at a magnification of
200 × Showing deformation twins and inclusions

(Refer to Pranab K. Chattopadhyaya and Birendra Pratap Singh's Article)